

The GREAT LEADERS and NATIONAL ISSUES OF 1912



THE POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES
OF ALL PARTIES DISCUSSED

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THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

An Impartial People's Handbook

Great Leaders and National Issues of 1912

—CONTAINING—

The Lives and Services of All Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates of All Parties, with the Platforms of All Parties. Also the Biographies of All Political Leaders

All Important Issues Discussed

By Governor Woodrow Wilson, President Taft, Ex-President Roosevelt, Speaker Champ Clark, Senator LaFollette, Governor Johnson of California, Governor Hadley of Missouri and Other National Leaders

The Political History of the United States

Including the Lives of All the Presidents and a History of Their Administrations, the Story of Historical Campaigns, and the Development of Political Parties, with Statistical Information Pertaining to Every State and All Previous Presidential Elections

A MAGNIFICENT ARRAY OF PORTRAITS AND PICTURES

Including Portraits of All Candidates and Leaders of All Parties

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IN CHICAGO

Browers in the Jersey City *Journal*



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

President

JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN

Vice-President



WOODROW WILSON
President

THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL
Vice-President

BOOK I

Unprecedented Campaign for
the Nominations

DEFINITION OF NEW TERMS AND PHRASES

THE GREAT NEW ISSUES OF 1912

THE DEMOCRATIC CANVASS

THE REPUBLICAN CANVASS

PROMINENT PARTY LEADERS



"LAYING THE AX AT THE ROOT OF THE TREE"

SELF-GOVERNMENT

There has been much dispute at Chicago about legality, but that is not the most important question. The time has passed when the so-called common people of the nation will remain comfortable under primary laws which give them no part in government. If the parties themselves do not reform their methods of selecting delegates, the reform will be forced upon them. By 1916 there will have taken place such changes in nomination machinery that such a fight as has been going on in the Republican party will be impossible. If two-thirds or three-fourths of the party wishes one man for president, it will by 1916 be a joke for another man, whom less than a quarter desire, to gain his principal strength through the sheer will of politicians. There are plenty of alarming things in this universe, but one thing which causes us no terror whatever is the substitution of the will of an enlightened community, accustomed to discussion and in possession of the facts, for the backstairs method of a bunch of parasites whose interests, like the interests behind them, are divergent from the welfare of the community at large.—Collier's Weekly.

CHAPTER I

Definitions of New Political Terms and Phrases

So many new terms are being used by speakers and newspapers in the present campaign that the following definitions are inserted to aid the readers of this book in an intelligent comprehension and discussion of the great questions involved.

Centralized Government.—A concentration of legislative and executive power in the hands of the national government, as opposed to varied legislation by the separate states. For example, the advocates of a national divorce law and the national regulation of corporations are advocating centralized government as opposed to state regulation.

Conservation of Natural Resources.—The protection of forests, mineral lands, water-supplies, etc., from useless waste and exhaustion, and the conservation of these resources for the benefit of the people at large, especially future generations.

Conservative.—One who is opposed to radical changes in our laws and methods of government. (Used in opposition to Progressive, which see.)

Cost of Production (Tariff).—A system of adjusting protective tariff rates to equalize the difference in the cost of producing goods at home and abroad so as to cover the higher cost of materials in this country, to protect the higher wages paid to American workmen, and to allow a reasonable profit to American industries.

Demagogue.—One who appeals to people's passions and prejudices to serve his own ends.

Direct Election of Senators.—The proposal to elect United States senators directly by the voters in each state, instead of by the legislatures of the states.

Direct Legislation.—A general term applied to the initiative and the referendum, which see.

Direct Nominations (or Primaries).—The naming of candidates for office by the voters at party primaries instead of by delegates at party conventions.

Income Tax.—A tax on all annual incomes above a certain amount.

Initiative.—The right of a given percentage of voters to compel the submission of any proposed law to the decision of the voters without regard to the action of the legislature.

Insurgent.—A term applied by opponents to one who actively opposes the leaders of his party.

Interests, The.—Business concerns, usually corporations, that would promote their own welfare and property at the expense of the rights of others. (See **Conservation of Natural Resources** and **Special Privilege**.)

Preferential Primaries.—The right of party voters at a primary election to bind delegates, elected to a nominating convention, to support the candidate or candidates indicated by the voters.

Progressive.—One who advocates pronounced changes in laws and methods of government, such as the initiative, referendum, recall, etc., (which see) as a remedy for existing political evils.

Prohibitive Tariff.—A tax on the importation of foreign goods at a rate high enough to prevent them from being brought into this country.

Protective Tariff.—A tax on foreign products imported into this country, imposed with a view to furnishing revenue, but also for the purpose of raising the price of the foreign product in order to protect home industries against foreign competition. A tax on tea, which is not produced in this country, would not be a protective tariff, but a tax on wool and iron and articles of a kind that are manufactured in this country would operate as a protection, while at the same time it would furnish a revenue for the government. (See **Cost of Production**.)

Radical.—An extreme Progressive (which see).

Reactionary.—An extreme Conservative, who would go backward rather than forward. The opposite of Radical.

Recall.—The right of voters to dismiss a “public servant” or official, or recall him before his terms expires, from the office to which he was elected, if they find his services unsatisfactory.

Recall of Judicial Decisions.—The annulling or reversing of a judicial decision by means of the referendum (which see).

Reciprocity Treaty.—An agreement between two countries to make various articles on the tariff list of each country free of the ordinary import duty, or to adjust these duties so as to favor reciprocal trade.

Referendum.—The submission of an act of the legislature to the voters for approval or rejection. All state constitutions provide for the referendum on amendments to the constitution.

Sherman Act.—The law enacted in 1890 to prevent monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade. The Supreme Court has interpreted it to mean “unreasonable” restraint of trade.

Special Privilege.—Legislation, or the mode of its enforcement, for the benefit of special interests as against the welfare of the people as a whole. (See **Interests**.)

Stand-Patter.—A term applied by opponents to one who stands by or “pat” with the powers that be, regardless of consequences. One who is opposed to changes in the laws, especially the tariff.

Tariff.—A tax on goods brought into the United States from other countries, collected by the customs officer from the importer.

Tariff for Revenue Only.—A tax on imported goods of a class not produced in this country, imposed for the purpose of raising revenue, as opposed to a tax on goods of a class produced in this country, imposed for the double purpose of revenue and protection to American industries.

CHAPTER II

The New Issues of 1912

DIRECT GOVERNMENT THE GREAT ISSUE—THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL—DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE RECALL—DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS—EXTENSION OF EXECUTIVE POWERS—WOMAN SUFFRAGE—SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE—THE COST OF LIVING.

The presidential campaign of 1912 will go down in history as the campaign of great new issues. Never have so many political innovations sprung up in a single presidential administration. One who has not followed closely the trend of governmental affairs stumbles upon words and phrases, while reading the newspapers, that he does not understand—expressions of which the meanings, as now used, cannot be found in any other book or dictionary. No one can take even an intelligent interest in the campaign or engage in a successful discussion of its peculiarities and phases without a clear comprehension of these terms and a definite knowledge of their history.

Men who, four years ago, were working side by side for the same ends, are now strongly opposed to each other. What has happened? How did this strange disagreement between chief friends come about? This is the question to which the answer is now being crystallized in a presidential campaign of tremendous earnestness.

Direct Government the Great Issue

The one overpowering issue of the campaign is the matter of getting the reins of government more directly into the hands of the voters themselves. But this is so comprehensive a summing up of the condition that it needs sub-division to appreciate it in all its parts. It divides logically into three phases. The first of these is the adoption of direct primaries where feasible, and preferential primaries in other cases. These reforms are urged by those who contend that the old system of nomination in party conventions by delegated power destroys the very tap root of popular rule.

The demand for these reforms in primary elections was brought to its prime importance by the situation arising out of contest for the Republican presidential nomination, in which Colonel Roosevelt received an overwhelming majority of such delegates as were elected in states where preferential primaries are established. On these grounds was based his claim that he had been clearly indicated as the choice of the rank and file of the party—the real party itself.

But even at the time when Colonel Roosevelt entered the primary campaign, the issue was raised. Senator Dixon proposed to Mr. McKinley a test by means of primaries in every state of the union to determine whether the Republican voters of the country desired Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft for their candidate as president. "We ought," said Mr. Dixon, "to have a free and voluntary expression of opinion directly from the voters who will cast the ballots that will determine finally the verdict at the polls. . . . In every state and district in the union proper arrangements can be made, and effectively carried out, for securing a free and voluntary expression of the will of the Republican voters. If it cannot be done by the state-wide primary, which would be preferable, it can be arranged by districts under the supervision of proper committees." Mr. McKinley said that he was in absolute accord with the selection of delegates to the National Convention by primaries wherever they are legally provided. In other states, however, in practically all of which provision had already been made for holding primaries or conventions, neither precedents nor the calls already issued could be set aside. "The party's form of government," he said, "should be the creation of law and custom and not of caprice. I do not favor changes in the rules of the game while the game is in progress. To propose the 'recall of conventions' in the midst of a campaign is contrary to the dictates of fair play." This exchange of views revealed a clear-cut issue. One side, represented by Senator Dixon, was desirous of leaving the choice of the candidate, just so far as may be possible, to the people themselves. The other side, represented by Mr. McKinley, preferred to hold to precedent, custom, and the rules of the political game.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall

The second phase of the issue of direct government is represented by the widespread demand for the initiative, referendum and recall. These measures are designed to give the voters a better control of the laws made to govern and regulate the affairs and interests of the nation, state and community.

The basis of these demands, and indeed of all demands for more direct government, is summed up by *The Outlook* in the following words:

"The fundamental issue was between government by the people and government by representatives of the people. Do the ninety millions of people govern themselves? Or do they elect wise men to govern them? Do they decide what shall be done and elect representatives to do it? Or do they elect representatives to decide what is to be done and then do it?

"The stockholders of a great corporation elect directors and leave them to manage its affairs, while they go about their individual business. One conception of government regards the ninety million Americans as stockholders who elect directors to carry on the business of the Republic in their interest. The directors elected, the citizens' duty is done until the next election. The other conception of government regards the ninety million Americans as their own directors. They determine what is to be

done and how it is to be done, and elect officials to carry out their will. According to one conception, presidents and congresses are rulers of the people, elected by the people. According to the other conception, presidents and congresses are servants of the people, elected by the people and responsible to the people."

Different Phases of the Recall

The recall of itself is divisible into three parts: (1) the recall of officials other than judges, (2) recall of judges and (3) the recall of judicial decisions. To the first of these there is no very general or decided opposition, though it is sometimes objected to on the grounds of its expense, its embarrassment to conscientious officials against whom personal enemies may wage an unjust feud, and more particularly the lack of need for it in view of the generally short terms of public officials.

To the recall of judges (a more prominent issue) more determined opposition is shown on the grounds that it would destroy the independence of the judiciary and render it servile to popular clamor. The same arguments in general are brought against the recall of judicial decisions. The advanced ground taken by the Progressives in this matter of the relation of the courts and the people was stated by Colonel Roosevelt as follows in his "Confession of Faith" delivered before the Progressive Convention:

"Means should be devised for making it easier than at present to get rid of an incompetent judge; means should be devised by the bar and bench, acting in conjunction with the various legislative bodies, to make justice far more expeditious and more certain than at present. The stick-in-the-bark legalism, the legalism that subordinates equity to technicalities, should be recognized as a potent enemy of justice. But this is not the matter of most concern at the moment. Our prime concern is that in dealing with the fundamental law of the land, in assuming finally to interpret it, and therefore finally to make it, the acts of the courts should be subject to and not above the final control of the people as a whole.

"I deny that the American people have surrendered to any set of men, no matter what their position or their character, the final right to determine those fundamental questions upon which free self-government ultimately depends. The people themselves must be the ultimate makers of their own Constitution, and where their agents differ in their interpretations of the Constitution the people themselves should be given the chance, after full and deliberate judgment, authoritatively to settle what interpretation it is that their representatives shall thereafter adopt as binding.

"Whenever in our constitutional system of government there exist general prohibitions that, as interpreted by the courts, nullify, or may be used to nullify, specific laws passed, and admittedly passed, in the interest of social justice, we are for such immediate law, or amendment, to the Constitution, if that be necessary, as will thereafter permit a reference to the people of the public effect of such decision, under forms securing

full deliberation to the end that the specific act of the legislative branch of the government thus judicially nullified, and such amendments thereof as come within its scope and purpose, may constitutionally be excepted by vote of the people from the general prohibitions, the same as if that particular act had been expressly excepted when the prohibition was adopted."

Direct Election of Senators

The third phase of the issue of direct government, namely, the direct election of United States senators, is the least recent, having been agitated at many times. Its seriousness as an issue now may be traced to such causes as the Lorimer case, to the increasing feeling that the sympathy of the Senate is in general too far removed from the people, and to the general trend of present-day political tendencies.

Extension of Executive Powers

A further important issue of the present campaign is that for the extension of the authority of the executive department of the government. This proposal is based on the grounds that as the most direct representative and chief servant of the whole people, the president and those immediately responsible to him can best enforce the popular will in many matters where legislative action would involve delay and damage to common rights. It is illustrated in the position taken by Colonel Roosevelt with regard to the more effective control of big business, and in this connection is stated by him as follows:

"It is utterly hopeless to attempt to control the trusts merely by the anti-trust law, or by any law the same in principle, no matter what the modifications may be in detail. In the first place, these great corporations cannot possibly be controlled merely by a succession of lawsuits. The administrative branch of the government must exercise such control. The preposterous failure of the Commerce Court has shown that only damage comes from the effort to substitute judicial for administrative control of great corporations. In the next place, a loosely drawn law which promises to do everything would reduce business to complete ruin if it were not also so drawn as to accomplish almost nothing."

Woman Suffrage

Long an issue of minor importance, and almost negligible in national campaigns, the question of woman suffrage has in the campaign of 1912 assumed an important place, and was thus referred to by ex-Senator Beveridge in his notable address to the Progressive Convention upon assuming the temporary chairmanship:

"Because women, as much as men, are a part of our economic and social life, women as much as men should have the voting power to solve all economic and social problems. Votes for women are theirs as a matter of natural right alone; votes for women should be theirs as a matter of

political wisdom also. As wage-earners, they should help to solve the labor problem; as property owners, they should help to solve the tax problem; as wives and mothers they should help to solve all the problems that concern the home. And that means all national problems; for the nation abides at the fireside.

"If it is said that women cannot help defend the nation in time of war, and therefore they should not help to determine the nation's destinies in time of peace, the answer is that women suffer and serve in time of conflict as much as men who carry muskets. And the deeper answer is that those who bear the nation's soldiers are as much the nation's defenders as their sons."

Social and Industrial Justice

That measures must be taken for the improvement of social conditions and for the relief of many injustices suffered by those who toil is the high ground taken by those to whom the welfare of all classes is a concern. On these questions the candidate of the Progressive party takes this stand:

"In the last twenty years an increasing percentage of our people have come to depend on industry for their livelihood, so that to-day the wage workers in industry rank in importance side by side with the tillers of the soil. As a people we cannot afford to let any group of citizens or any individual citizen live or labor under conditions which are injurious to the common welfare. Industry, therefore, must submit to such public reputation as will make it a means of life and health, not of death or inefficiency. We must protect the crushable elements at the base of our present industrial structure.

"We hold that under no industrial order, in no commonwealth, in no trade, and in no establishment should industry be carried on under conditions inimical to the social welfare. The abnormal, ruthless, spendthrift industry or establishment tends to drag down all to the level of the the least considerate."

The Cost of Living

Probably no matter of general concern is of more vital import than that of the increasing cost of living, and it is evident that without regard to political lines there is rising a mighty, though slowly defining, insistence for remedy of the causes, whatever they may be, that tend constantly to increase the living costs of the people. It is therefore significant that Colonel Roosevelt has made this question an issue in his campaign, with regard to which he says:

"There can be no more important question than the high cost of living necessitates.

"We in this country are blessed with great natural resources, and our men and women have a very high standard of intelligence and of industrial capacity. Surely, such being the case, we cannot permanently support conditions under which each family finds it increasingly difficult to secure

the necessities of life and a fair share of its comforts through the earnings of its members. The cost of living in this country has risen during the last few years out of all proportion to the increase in the rate of most salaries and wages; the same situation confronts alike the majority of wage-workers, small business men, small professional men, the clerks, the doctors, clergymen.

"Now, grave though the problem is, there is one way to make it graver, and that is to deal with it insincerely, to advance false remedies, to promise the impossible. Our opponents, Republicans and Democrats alike, propose to deal with it in this way. The Republicans in their platform promise an inquiry into the facts. Most certainly there should be such inquiry. The problem is world-wide. Everywhere, in England and France, as in Germany and Japan, it appears with greater or less severity; in England, for instance, it has become a very severe problem, although neither the tariff nor, save to a small degree, the trusts can there have any possible effect upon the situation.

"The welfare of the tiller of the soil is as important as the welfare of the wage-worker himself, and we must sedulously guard both. The farmer, the producer of the necessities of life, can himself live only if he raises these necessities for a profit.

"On the other hand, the consumer, who must have that farmer's product in order to live, must be allowed to purchase it at the lowest cost that can give the farmer his profit and everything possible must be done to eliminate any middleman whose function does not tend to increase the cheapness of distribution of the product; and, moreover, everything must be done to stop all speculating, all gambling with the bread-basket, which has even the slightest deleterious effect upon the producer and consumer."

CHAPTER III

The Campaign for the Democratic Nomination

A QUARTETTE OF CANDIDATES—LESSER CANDIDATES FOR THE NOMINATION
—THE POSSIBILITY OF BRYAN—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN

While the pre-convention campaign of the Democrats lacked the sensationalism of the Republican contest, it was not altogether without its excitement. There was plenty of rivalry among the candidates to give interest, while the prospect of Democratic success stamped it with importance. The situation was picturesquely summed up by the *New York World*, a Democratic newspaper, in these words:

“With Woodrow Wilson chasing Colonel Harvey out of the front yard; with Colonel Watterson denouncing Governor Wilson as an ingrate; with Mr. Hearst sobbing hysterically over Governor Wilson’s historical references to Chinese labor; with Mayor Gaynor having fits over the wickedness of Mr. Hearst; with Colonel Harvey turning Woodrow Wilson’s picture to the wall; with Mr. Bryan alternately bumping Judson Harmon and reading Oscar Underwood out of the party; with Champ Clark chawing Joe Folk and Joe Folk chawing Champ Clark; with Martin Littleton weeping over the atrocities which the House Democrats are about to commit on Wall Street; with Roger Sullivan trying to steal Carter Harrison from the newly converted Mr. Hearst; with Mr. Bryan acting as the house of representatives, and with Mr. Underwood defying Mr. Bryan to do his worst—it has been years since we had a Democratic party so full of vigor and action and the joy of living.”



Some favorite “Sunflowers” for the Baltimore show.—From the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

A Quartette of Candidates

This good-humoredly summarizes the incidents of a campaign in which four candidates stood out prominently from a field of a dozen. First among these, in the matter of securing delegates, was Champ Clark of Missouri, speaker of the house of representatives. Supporting Speaker Clark were the Hearst newspapers, which, with their millions of circulation,

claimed that he was the real Radical, and therefore entitled to the Democratic vote. He is a believer in tariff for revenue only, and in economy in governmental expenditures. While a member of the Missouri legislature, Mr. Clark secured the passage of the first anti-trust law in this country. He has served in congress for seventeen years, was unanimously nominated for speaker by his party, and was easily elected. Consistent in his record, direct and



HE FIRED THE COOK

From the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*.

frank in his dealings, he demonstrated his popularity as a candidate by his success in obtaining delegates.

Second to Champ Clark in his success at the primaries was Woodrow Wilson, who resigned the presidency of Princeton University to become governor of New Jersey and who claims our laws are a generation behind our economic advance. First suggested for the presidency by *Harper's Weekly*, he later requested that journal to cease its activity in his behalf on the ground that it identified him in the public mind with Wall Street interests and was therefore injurious to his candidacy. During his campaign Governor Wilson espoused the initiative and referendum, and in other particulars changed his views with regard to public questions on which, as a student of political affairs, he had committed himself in private life.

Standing for the conservative element of the party were Oscar W.

Underwood of Alabama, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and floor leader of the House of Representatives, and Judson Harmon, governor of Ohio, and former attorney-general in President Cleveland's cabinet. Mr. Underwood, as a legislator of long experience, quiet and systematic in his methods, with none of the blandishments of the politician, had drawn much favorable attention, while Governor Harmon, with an illustrious record as chief executive of his state, serving his second term, was the favorite of many members of his party.

Lesser Candidates for the Nomination

Other party leaders more or less strongly advocated were four governors, namely, Baldwin of Connecticut, an eminent jurist; Burk of North Dakota, Foss of Massachusetts and Marshall of Indiana, with whom were included as presidential possibilities Mayor Gaynor of New York City, Senator Kern of Indiana, W. R. Hearst, of newspaper fame, and W. J. Bryan, who had thrice been the unsuccessful candidate of his party. Unlike the leading Republican candidates for the nomination, the "favorite sons" in the Democratic party were able for the most part to carry their own states.

The special mark of the campaign seemed to be Governor Wilson, who was persistently attacked as a "turn-coat," a "pretender," "a man with an un-Democratic record," and "a man who made over all his political principles after he entered the fight for the nomination." So vehement did this attack become that the *New York Globe* was led to say that it was doubtful "whether American political history, full as it is of reckless slander, furnishes an instance of character-assassi-



WILL THEY GET HIM OUT?
Wilder in the *Chicago Record-Herald*.

nation more contemptible than that of which Woodrow Wilson has been the victim."

This volume of abuse brought forth a bitter retort from Governor Wilson's campaign manager, who said: "I would wear my hands to the bone in the Republican party rather than work for Champ Clark as Democratic candidate for the presidency, with the possibility of William

Randolph Hearst as secretary of state. I know a thousand other good Democrats that would do the same."

Among Governor Wilson's followers it was charged that Speaker Clark, Governor Harmon and Mr. Underwood were playing into each other's hands to defeat the ex-president of Princeton. It seemed to be the field against the governor.



DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL BUBBLES

From the Duluth *News-Tribune*.

make a prediction regarding the next Democratic convention, it would run about as follows: Anything may happen at Baltimore next June—even to the nomination of Mr. Bryan." The speculation of a stampede to the Nebraskan in the event of a dead-lock was rife, and the advance of progressive policies in both the old parties made Mr. Bryan appear much less radical than formerly. Political principles formerly proposed by Mr. Bryan to the horror of his opponents are now enthusiastically advocated by them. Speaking of this re-alignment of policies, Mr. Bryan, when asked early in the pre-convention campaign whether he would run against Roosevelt said, "How can I? Mr. Roosevelt has stolen my platform."

Despite the speculation as to the possibility of his nomination, Mr. Bryan gave no inkling of any intention of entering the field actively. In the campaign he assailed Governor Harmon and Mr. Underwood, but he maintained friendly relations with Speaker Clark and Governors Wilson, Marshall and Burke.

The Possibility of Bryan

Always a potent factor in his party since his first nomination for the presidency in 1896, Mr. Bryan wielded no little influence in the pre-convention campaign of 1912, and his course was watched with interest. One of the monthly reviews said of him:

"If we were compelled to

make a prediction regarding the next Democratic convention, it would run about as follows: Anything may happen at Baltimore next June—even to the nomination of Mr. Bryan." The speculation of a stampede to the Nebraskan in the event of a dead-lock was rife, and the advance of progressive policies in both the old parties made Mr. Bryan appear much less radical than formerly. Political principles formerly proposed by Mr. Bryan to the horror of his opponents are now enthusiastically advocated by them. Speaking of this re-alignment of policies, Mr. Bryan, when asked early in the pre-convention campaign whether he would run against Roosevelt said, "How can I? Mr. Roosevelt has stolen my platform."

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Development of the Campaign

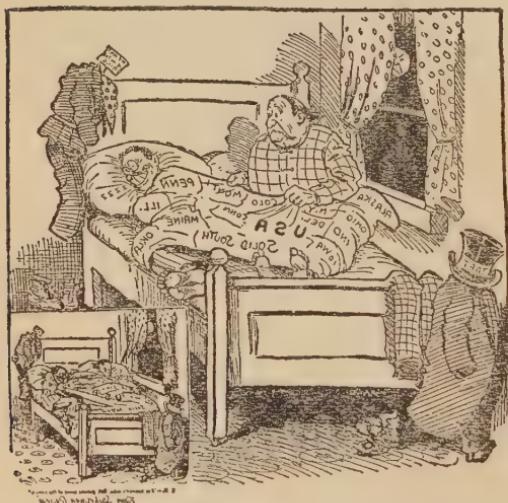
While Speaker Clark obtained a larger number of pledged delegates than any other candidate, with Governor Wilson a good second, and the remaining forces more or less scattered, he was very far from possessing the number necessary to nominate. In one important respect the procedure at a Democratic National Convention is different from that at a Republican National Convention, namely, in that a two-thirds vote of the delegates, instead of a bare majority, is necessary to determine the presidential nomination. This naturally leads to greater uncertainty and wider opportunity for compromise and the possibility of a "dark horse" being chosen than under the majority rule, and often makes it more difficult for the leading candidate, lacking the necessary two-thirds vote, to increase his strength than for the lieutenants of some lesser candidate to begin to draw votes toward their choice.

Thus it was that as the campaign for the election of delegates progressed, and was finally concluded without any candidate being assured of success, the uncertainty as to the final outcome being only deepened by the uncertainty of the Republican contest and the expediency of the consequent Democratic course of action.

CHAPTER IV

The Campaign for the Republican Nomination

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE'S BREAKDOWN—RISE OF THE ROOSEVELT BOOM—THE FIGHT FOR CONTROL—THE CONTESTED DELEGATES—GATHERING AT CHICAGO—“DARK HORSES” SUGGESTED.



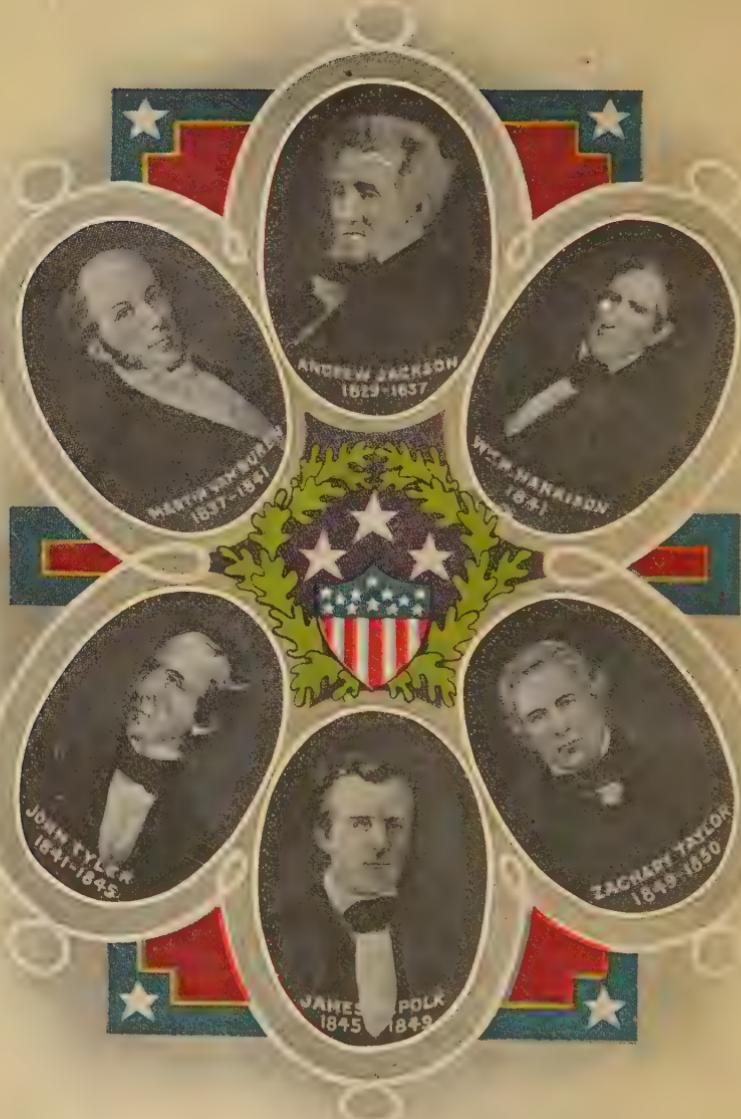
TAFT: "Say, Theodore, you don't need as much covering as I do."—From the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*.

the innovation of presidential preferential primaries, in which the voters could directly indicate their choice between the rival candidates. Crown-
ing these elements of excitement was the injection into the campaign of new issues, on which the party nationally had as yet been given no opportunity to commit itself, but on which the principal candidates for the nomination ranged themselves vigorously and positively on opposing sides.

The campaign had its commencement, late in 1911, under compara-



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tively serene conditions, which were later almost entirely forgotten in the cumulative heat of the struggle. Opposed to President Taft's efforts for re-nomination there was only Senator La Follette. In its early stages the contest was centered in the southern states, where the district conventions were held early, and where the administration, with its power of federal patronage, was uniformly successful. During this period of the campaign



THE AMENITIES OF THE CAMPAIGN

the prediction was freely made that President Taft would be overwhelmingly re-nominated.

Senator La Follette's Breakdown

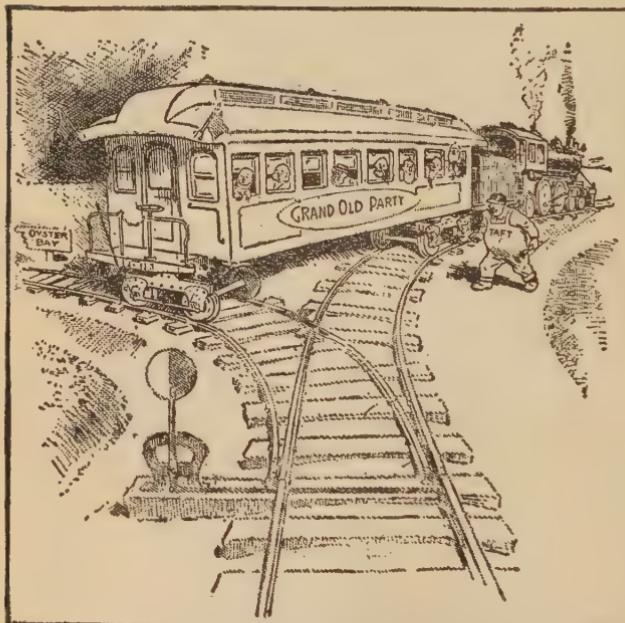
The campaign followed this easy course until the middle of February, 1912, when at the annual dinner of the Periodical Publishers' Association, in Philadelphia, the first spectacular incident occurred. On that occasion Senator La Follette delivered a two-hour speech which, in length, in temper and in ambiguity, gave clear indication that the pressure of his campaign had reduced him to a nervous condition under which it was impossible for him to proceed immediately with the contest. There was no physical collapse, nor was there anything unexpected in his remarks about the subserviency of the newspapers to the money trust; but there was an utter lack of power where so much had been expected. His voice lacked its ring. The written part of his speech lacked force. The prosiest part

of it was delivered three times. Temporarily Senator La Follette was withdrawn from the race.

Until this time the Senator from Wisconsin had been the main dependence of the Progressives. Meanwhile Senator Cummins of Iowa had become a candidate without attracting very much attention. With the failure of the La Follette candidacy there began an increasing demand from many quarters for Colonel Roosevelt. Definite form was given to this demand in a letter signed by eight Republican state governors asking him to enter the contest, to which Colonel Roosevelt finally replied affirmatively.

Rise of the Roosevelt Boom

From the moment the ex-President announced his candidacy the excitement increased. At first the references of President



ACCIDENTS WILL HAPPEN
De Mar in the Philadelphia *Record*

and promptly the reply, "paranoiacs," came back at the Conservatives.

From this point the personal feeling between the candidates constantly waxed in evidence and in bitterness. "Robber," "thief," and similar epithets, evolved a special political significance. From one state to another, as the primary elections were held, the President and ex-President traveled fast on each other's heels, or almost side by side,

Taft and Colonel Roosevelt to each other were parliamentary enough. Almost immediately, however, Colonel Roosevelt instituted an active, personal campaign and commenced a series of attacks on the administration which eventually forced President Taft to enter the campaign in person in his own defense. It was not long, however, before the parliamentary terms became something stronger. "Neurotics" was the word hurled at the Progressives,

each on his special train, to canvass the state from end to end in the struggle for delegates.

President Taft's easy acquisition of convention delegates was soon seriously checked. Most of the southern delegates had already been selected, and these for the most part were credited to the administration, but in the northern primaries the results were very largely reversed.

The Fight for Control

In the first important primary after the issue was joined between President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt, the preferential primary of North Dakota, it is true that the result was in favor of Senator La Follette, due to a campaign which practically had already been waged; and in Colorado, Indiana and New York, which followed in rapid succession, President Taft was the victor. In Illinois, however, Colonel Roosevelt won by a large majority. This victory was repeated in Maine. In Vermont and Kentucky the result was divided, with the president getting the majority of the delegates. The President's followers also succeeded in controlling the Michigan elections, but contesting delegates for Colonel Roosevelt were selected.

The Pennsylvania preferential primaries, held April 13th, resulted in the almost complete wreck of the well-oiled Penrose machine and the election of an overwhelming majority of Roosevelt delegates. This, added to the Illinois victory, very materially improved Colonel Roosevelt's standing in the race. President Taft seemed, however, to recover his pace somewhat with victories in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and a partial victory over Senator Cummins in Iowa. He also divided with Colonel Roosevelt in Missouri, but the latter won nearly all of the delegates from Kansas.

The newly tried preferential primaries in Massachusetts resulted in considerable confusion. While the preference was indicated for President Taft by about 4,000 majority, the eight Roosevelt candidates for delegates-at-large were elected, owing, it was claimed, to the fact that several thousand defective Taft ballots were thrown out. Thereupon Colonel Roosevelt announced that he would expect the eight delegates elected for him to vote for President Taft's nomination in accordance with the expressed popular will, an expectation, however, which was not fulfilled. The district delegates were almost evenly divided between the two candidates, President Taft having a small majority.

Quickly following Massachusetts, the states of California, Minnesota, West Virginia and North Carolina were added to the Roosevelt column, while Montana, Wyoming, Nevada and Utah were won by the President.

By this time the primaries were nearing their end, with both sides claiming victory. The most important elections remaining were Ohio and New Jersey, in which states the campaign was personally conducted by both President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt with concentrated energy. To the great elation of the Progressive forces, both states gave a great

majority to the ex-President, although subsequently President Taft captured the eight delegates-at-large in the Ohio state convention.

The Contested Delegates

It was not to be expected that in a campaign marked by such heat and determination either side would yield any point save by necessity.

As a natural consequence, therefore, after the last of the presidential primaries had been held, it was found that the unprecedented number of 254 contests, instances in which defeated candidates formally challenged the legality of the election of the successful delegates, had been filed with the Republican National Committee, most of them being instituted by the Roosevelt forces.

The bulk of these contests are explained in two ways. In the first place, when Colonel Roosevelt entered the field a larger number of southern delegates, in whose choice he had had no voice, had al-


THE SPIRIT OF 1912
(Apropos of the result of the primaries in the State of Pennsylvania)

ready been chosen for President Taft, as previously stated. To offset this substantial advantage, the election of these delegates was closely scrutinized, and wherever any flaw appeared in the manner of their selection, a new election was held by Roosevelt followers and contesting delegates favorable to the Colonel were designated. Secondly, during the course of the campaign, there were a number of state and district conventions controlled by the Taft adherents in which their opponents alleged fraud or lesser irregularities, and in all such instances contesting delegates were promptly selected by the Roosevelt forces.

Gathering at Chicago

It was thus apparent when the party leaders began to gather at Chicago, two weeks previous to the date of the convention, that there would be a bitter fight before the Republican National Committee in the settlement of these contests and the preparation of the temporary roll of the nominating convention. This anticipation was fully realized. A large number of the contests, particularly over southern delegates, were unani-

mously decided in favor of the Taft followers, and a few were unanimously adjudicated for the Roosevelt delegates; but in many contests the struggle was exceedingly bitter, and the result was determined by a divided vote of the committee. In all such cases, however, the decision was given to the Taft delegates, with renewed charges of "fraud" and "theft" from the Roosevelt supporters directed against the National Committee, made up as it was of party leaders selected four years before, and containing a large majority of adherents of President Taft.

Of the 254 contests filed with the committee, 235 were decided in favor of the Taft delegates and 19 in favor of the Roosevelt delegates.

"Dark Horses" Suggested

To many of the calmer minds in the two hostile camps the situation seemed so tense and embittered that the selection of a compromise candidate was suggested as the wisest means of ending the struggle and reuniting the party. Always an interesting speculation in a contested campaign, in this case its special importance was urged, and many names were suggested for the honor. As one already a candidate, Senator Cummins of Iowa was groomed as the party Moses. Senator Root of New York, former Vice-President Fairbanks of Indiana, Supreme Court Justice Hughes of New York, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, son of the martyred president; and former Postmaster-General Wanamaker of Pennsylvania. These suggestions were invariably and positively rejected by both the Taft and Roosevelt lieutenants, who declared for a fight to the finish.

Thus the morning of the convention dawned with the lines tensely drawn for the first test of strength over the election of the temporary chairman, for which post Senator Root, a Taft advocate, had been nominated by the National Committee in accordance with the party rules.

From the *New York American*.



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Theodore and Will—three years ago and at present.—From the *Chicago Tribune*.

Other party leaders put forward were Senator Root of New York, former Vice-President Fairbanks of Indiana, Supreme Court Justice Hughes of New York, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, son of the martyred president; and former Postmaster-General Wanamaker of Pennsylvania. These suggestions were invariably and positively rejected by both the Taft and Roosevelt lieutenants, who declared for a fight to the finish.

CHAPTER V

Prominent Party Leaders

Biographical Sketches of the Men Who Direct the Policies of Party Organizations

Champ Clark

Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives

Champ Clark is the first man who ever received more than half the votes in a Democratic presidential convention without finally getting the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate. Aside from that, he is speaker of the House of Representatives, which is sometimes considered the next best thing to the presidency. He was born in 1850. Besides having been a college president, he has been city attorney of Louisiana, Mo., and of Bowling Green, Mo.; prosecuting attorney of Pike County, Mo., presidential elector; chairman of the Democratic National Convention in 1904, and congressman from 1893 to the present time, except in 1896 and 1897. He seems to have been a pretty busy man politically, and his record shows the confidence his constituents have in him.

Robert Marion La Follette

Republican Senator from Wisconsin

Senator La Follette is the original, dyed-in-the-wool Progressive. He was a Progressive long before he went to the Senate, and he was at it as hard as ever when scarcely anybody in the Senate would speak to him. They called him an "insurgent" and a "radical" then, but it didn't freeze him a bit. He kept right on promulgating ideas about popular government until finally his colleagues, and a great many other people, took him seriously. At one time it seemed that he would be the chief opponent of President Taft for the Republican presidential nomination, but he broke down under the strain, and while he wasn't looking Theodore Roosevelt stole all his thunder, as well as his carefully selected spot in the limelight. The rest is history. Still he received forty-one votes in the Chicago Convention. He was a busy member of the Ways and Means Committee that framed the McKinley bill, and after that he was governor of Wisconsin three times before being elected to the Senate. He is fifty-seven years old.

Oscar W. Underwood

Democratic Chairman, Ways and Means Committee

Representative Underwood has held his congressional job steadily for seventeen years—and is still on it. He always made it a point to

look out for the local interests of his home district (which is only one of the reasons why his fellow-citizens keep him in Congress), and when he wasn't busy at that he kept studying the tariff question, until finally he knew as much about the ins and outs of the subject as anybody in Washington—and a great deal more than most of the people there. That got him on the important Ways and Means Committee, and when the House went Democratic in 1910 he was the logical man for the chairmanship, which carried with it the Democratic floor leadership. Before he went to Congress he was a mighty good lawyer—and he is yet. Age, fifty years.

Albert Baird Cummins

Republican Senator from Iowa

When it used to be "Governor" Cummins (as it was from 1902 to 1908) Cummins was the man who invented the famous "Iowa idea," which was the substantial beginning of Republican sentiment for "downward revision" of the tariff. Before that Cummins was a member of the state House of Representatives. He was born in 1850. He has been in the United States Senate since 1908, and is one of the strongest of the progressive leaders there. Many of his followers believed that he would get the nomination on the Republican ticket in the event of a compromise candidate being selected—but, as it turned out, there wasn't any compromise.

Judson Harmon

Democratic Governor of Ohio

Governor Harmon's position in the Democratic party is an interesting one because he stands as the leader of the conservative element in the party. Democrats who feared what Wilson, the political economist, might do if he became president, were loud in their praise of Judson Harmon. His strong and capable administration of state affairs, and his previous record as lawyer, judge and attorney-general, have brought him an enviable reputation as a jurist and statesman. He is sixty-six years old.

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge

Former Republican Senator from Indiana

During his twelve years in the Senate from 1899 to 1911 Albert J. Beveridge was an earnest advocate of progressive policies. An orator of no mean ability, he was always earnest in the praise of reform. He was born in 1862; was admitted to the bar in 1887 and has been identified with many important cases. Though defeated by Democratic Senator Kern, in 1911, his interest in public affairs did not decrease and he became an active supporter of Theodore Roosevelt in his progressive campaign. He was chosen temporary chairman of the Progressive National Convention, which he opened with a stirring speech.

William Jennings Bryan

Though he has never been in the White House, William Jennings Bryan has been for many years the moving spirit of the Democratic party.

He wrote the famous "silver plank" for the Democratic National Convention of 1896, and he has lectured widely on bimetallism and reform. A born orator, he sways vast multitudes as few political leaders can. Three times nominated for the presidency, and three times defeated, he has been an ardent leader of his party, and took the most prominent part in the Democratic National Convention of 1912. He is now fifty-two years old—still in his prime, still directing public opinion, if not through official position, then through popular lectures and manifold articles in newspapers and magazines.

Elihu Root

Republican Senator from New York

Few senators have behind them as brilliant a career as Elihu Root, now 67 years of age and still active in all national and many international affairs. He was secretary of war in the cabinet of President McKinley (1899-1904), secretary of state in the cabinet of President Roosevelt (1905-1909), and has been in the Senate since 1909. He was a member of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal in 1903; was counsel for the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration in 1910; was made a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in 1910, and president of the Carnegie endowment for International Peace in 1910. He was chosen chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1912—an office which he filled to the eminent satisfaction of the conservative Republicans and to the eminent disgust of Colonel Roosevelt's followers. In private life he is one of the ablest lawyers of his generation.

John Worth Kern

Democratic Senator from Indiana

John Worth Kern ran for the Senate against Albert J. Beveridge in 1911, and the Democrat won. Senator Kern was Mr. Bryan's running mate four years ago and was a prominent figure in the Democratic Convention of 1912, making a remarkable plea for Mr. Bryan as leader of the party: "If you must fight," he said, "then the leader must be worthy of the cause; that leader must be Mr. Bryan." Kern is sixty-three years of age, and is a lawyer by profession. He has had an active career in Indiana, was a member of the Indiana Senate, 1893-97, and was candidate for governor in 1900 and in 1904.

Herbert Spencer Hadley

Republican Governor of Missouri

Herbert Spencer Hadley is one of the seven governors who requested Roosevelt to take his stand as a candidate for the Republican nomination, but he did not leave the Republican ranks to join the new party. Though only forty years of age Governor Hadley has behind him a long and honorable career. While prosecuting attorney of Jackson County he gained a wide reputation on account of his vigorous prosecutions of legal offenders; and while attorney-general of Missouri (1904-08) he prosecuted cases successfully against the Standard Oil Company, the railroads, the Har-





vester, Insurance and Lumber trusts and the race-track gamblers of St. Louis. He was the Roosevelt floor leader in the Republican National Convention.

John Burke

Democratic Governor of North Dakota

John Burke was one of the five "governor possibilities" for the Democratic presidential nomination, but received no votes in the convention. As a type of the modern progressive, however, he was Mr. Bryan's choice for the vice-presidency. Governor Burke is fifty-three years of age, and is serving his third term as governor. Previous to his election in 1907 he had been county judge for Rolette County, a member of the North Dakota House of Representatives and a member of the state Senate.

William Brown McKinley

Republican Representative from Illinois

A close friend of President Taft's and manager of his campaign for re-nomination, Congressman McKinley has been much in the eyes of the people. He was born in 1856 and has been manager and partner in the banking and loan business of J. B. and W. B. McKinley since 1877. In 1885 he built, owned and managed the water works and electric-lighting plant of Champaign, Ill., and since that time has been continuously engaged in building, buying and operating gas plants and electric-lighting and railway properties. He has been a member of Congress since 1905.

Thomas Pryor Gore

Democratic Senator from Oklahoma

Senator Gore is one of the strong forces of the new Democratic element in the Senate. Despite his blindness, which might seem a handicap, and despite his brief career in national politics (he has been in the Senate only five years), he is recognized as one of the leaders and orators of the party. He was born in 1870 and lost the sight of both eyes while still a small child.

Joseph Moore Dixon

Republican Senator from Montana

Senator Dixon is in the forefront of the Progressive party. He managed the Roosevelt campaign for the Republican nomination, was active in promoting Colonel Roosevelt's interests in Chicago and was one of the most active organizers of the new party. He was born in 1867 and was admitted to the bar in 1892. He was a member of the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth congresses and has been in the Senate since 1907.

Frances Edward McGovern

Republican Governor of Wisconsin

From the farm house to the governor's chair is a big step; but Francis E. McGovern is one of the many middle-westerners who have taken it

and made good. He is forty-five years old and has practiced law since 1897. He was first assistant district-attorney of Milwaukee County from 1901 to 1904, was district attorney from 1905 to 1908, was candidate for United States senator in 1908; and was elected governor in 1911.

John Sharp Williams
Democratic Senator from Mississippi

Few senators are better known to the public than John Sharp Williams, whose keen mind and never-failing sense of humor even his enemies recognize. He was born in 1854 and is known in the South as a lawyer and cotton-planter. He has, moreover, had an active part in Democratic politics. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Conventions of 1892 and 1904, temporary chairman of the convention of 1904, member of the fifty-third to the sixtieth congresses, and has been senator since 1911. He was recognized as minority leader of the House and was Democratic candidate for speaker in the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth congresses.

William Ellsworth Glasscock
Republican Governor of West Virginia

Governor Glasscock is another of the seven governors who called Colonel Roosevelt into the arena. He is an earnest advocate of progressive principles. He was born in 1862 and, after taking a degree at the University of West Virginia, taught in the public schools and became county superintendent. He was admitted to the bar in 1902; was appointed United States collector of internal revenue for the District of West Virginia in 1905, but resigned to become governor in 1909.

William Jay Gaynor
Democratic Mayor of New York

Mayor Gaynor is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, not only because he has made his office a power for good but because of his long and enviable record as judge and citizen. He appeared in many important cases and was active in breaking up rings within the Democratic party and in convicting John Y. Kane of election frauds. He was judge of the Supreme Court of New York from 1893 to 1909, when he resigned to become mayor. On two previous occasions he had declined the nomination. He is now sixty-one years of age.

Henry Cabot Lodge
Republican Senator from Massachusetts

Lodge is the official grammarian of the Senate. He sees that the bills and resolutions conform with all the rules of syntax. It is said that he revised Senator Root's speech as chairman of the Republican Chicago Convention, and that when he found a split infinitive it was as bad as an attack of indigestion. All this is natural, because Lodge was born and raised in Boston. Aside from that, since 1893, when Henry Cabot Lodge

first entered the Senate, he has been an influence to be reckoned with. He was a personal friend of Colonel Roosevelt's, but he does not agree with the doctrine of the recall and refused to take part in the Progressive campaign. He is sixty-two years old. Admitted to the bar in 1876, he has had a long and busy career as editor, author and man of affairs.

Chester Hardy Aldrich

Republican Governor of Nebraska

Chester Hardy Aldrich was admitted to the Nebraska bar in 1891, and until called to the governorship practiced law in David City, where he is also a stock-raiser. He was a member of the Nebraska Senate in 1907, and in 1910 was elected governor of his state. He is one of the seven governors who petitioned Roosevelt to become a candidate for a third term.

Boies Penrose

Republican Senator from Pennsylvania

Senator Penrose is intimately allied with the conservative element in the Senate and is a close friend and supporter of President Taft. His leadership in Pennsylvania was overthrown in the sweeping victory of the Roosevelt ticket in the primary election of 1912. He was born in 1860; was admitted to the bar in 1883 and practiced in Philadelphia. He was a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1884 to 1886, and of the Senate from 1887 to 1897. He is now serving his third term as United States senator, and was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1900, 1904 and 1908.

Simeon Eben Baldwin

Democratic Governor of Connecticut

Though generally known for his personal verbal controversy with Colonel Roosevelt, Governor Baldwin has an acknowledged reputation as a lawyer and jurist, and was even considered as a possible dark horse in the Baltimore convention. He was born in 1840, studied law at Yale and Harvard, and was admitted to the bar in 1863. He was for many years a member of the faculty of law at Yale. At the time of his election to the governorship in 1910 he was chief justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors.

Robert Perkins Bass

Republican Governor of New Hampshire

Governor Bass is another of the seven Republican governors who called Colonel Roosevelt to consider a third term. He is only thirty-seven years of age, but has behind him a record for honesty and progressive legislation. He has engaged in farming, real estate and law, has devoted a great deal of time to the advancement of forestry in New Hampshire, and has been active in state politics since 1905. He was chosen governor in 1911.

Theodore Elijah Burton

Republican Senator from Ohio

As chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors during his long membership in the House of Representatives, Theodore Elijah Burton came into the limelight and secured the passage of much able legislation. He was born in 1851, was admitted to the bar in 1875, and has since practiced in Cleveland. He was a member of the fifty-first and of the fifty-fourth to the sixty-first congresses, resigning in 1909 to become United States senator. He is known as a conservative.

Francis Griffith Newlands

Democratic Senator from Nevada

Senator Newlands is a staunch Democrat and has been active in irrigation development and all matters of western interest. He was a member of Congress from 1893 to 1903, framed the Newlands Reclamation Act and was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. He has been in the Senate since 1903 and has been an active member of the committees on Inter-State Commerce, and Education and Labor. He was also prominent in railroad legislation and was the author of a bill for river regulation and the control of trusts. He is now sixty-four years of age.

Joseph Maull Carey

Republican Governor of Wyoming

Joseph Maull Carey is one of the "seven governors" who has not deserted Roosevelt. Until the recent campaign he was known to those outside his own state chiefly as the author of the famous Carey Act for the reclamation and irrigation of land. Born in Delaware in 1845, he studied law and practiced in Philadelphia. In 1877 he went to Wyoming, where he became interested in cattle-raising and real estate. He has held many important offices; was a member of the forty-ninth to the fifty-first congresses; introduced the bill which admitted Wyoming to statehood; was United States senator from 1890 to 1895, and was elected governor of his state in 1911.

Reed Smoot

Republican Senator from Utah

Perhaps no man in the Senate—with the possible exception of Penrose and Crane—is more influential than Reed Smoot. None of these three men makes many speeches, but all are active forces, thinkers and workers, getting things done. They represent the conservative element in the Senate. Mr. Smoot was born in 1862 and has always lived in Utah. He is a member of the Church of Latter Day Saints. He is a man of high financial standing, being the president of a number of corporations and banking concerns. He has been in the Senate since 1903.

John Alden Dix

Democratic Governor of New York

John Alden Dix's election as governor of New York was one of the biggest Democratic victories of recent years. He ran against Henry Lewis Stimson, the man whom Colonel Roosevelt was backing, and he won. He was considered as a possibility for the nomination for president in 1912, and many still predict that he will at some later time enter the White House. He is now fifty-two years old. He was elected governor on a progressive platform, advocating many reforms in the state government which were admittedly needed, home rule for cities, downward revision of the tariff, direct primaries, popular election of United States senators, an income tax, conservation of natural resources, state regulation of public-service corporations, and the promotion of agriculture and commercial enterprise.

Chase Salmon Osborn

Republican Governor of Michigan

Chase Salmon Osborn in one of Roosevelt's "seven governors" whom he has since lost. He is fifty-two years of age and has for many years been actively engaged in newspaper editorial work. He has also held a number of state and government offices. He was regent of the University of Michigan from 1908 to 1911, when he was elected governor.

William Alden Smith

Republican Senator from Michigan

Senator Smith has recently been before the public as chairman of the Senate committee investigating the "Titanic" disaster. He was born in Michigan in 1859, was admitted to the bar in 1883, and has since practiced law in Grand Rapids. He was a member of Congress from 1895 to 1909, when he resigned to become United States senator.

Eugene N. Foss

Democratic Governor of Massachusetts

Eugene N. Foss was one of the governors whom the gathering force of the Democratic tide of 1910 carried into office. He had been an active tariff reformer, an advocate of reciprocity and a business man of wide experience, and was a member of the sixty-first congress at the time of his election. He was one of the Democratic governors considered as possibilities for nomination in the presidential campaign of 1912. He is fifty-four years of age.

Robert Scadden Vessey

Republican Governor of South Dakota

Robert Scadden Vessey is serving his second term as governor of South Dakota, being first elected in 1909. Previous to that time he was engaged in sheep-raising and in the mercantile and real estate loan business. As a member of the South Dakota Senate in 1905 and 1907 he introduced

measures compelling campaign committees to keep account of expenses and make public report, and giving state railroad commissions power to compel railroads to build connecting tracks at intersecting points and establish joint through rates. He also secured the adoption of more rigid banking laws and the revision of insurance and corporation laws.

John Franklin Shafroth
Democratic Governor of Colorado

On February 15, 1904, Mr. Shafroth, member of Congress from the first Colorado District, resigned his seat in the House. He had been a member since 1895; but he absolutely refused to retain his seat when he learned that the election had been tainted by fraud. He has been governor of Colorado since 1909. He was born in Missouri in 1854, but has lived in Denver since 1879.

James Rudolph Garfield
Former Secretary of the Interior

As an intimate friend and staunch supporter of Colonel Roosevelt, Garfield looms big in the Progressive party. He was born in 1865 and was admitted to the bar in 1888. He was a member of the Ohio Senate from 1896 to 1899; a member of the United States Civil Service Commission in 1902 and 1903; commissioner of corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor from 1903 to 1907; and secretary of the interior in the cabinet of President Roosevelt from 1907 to 1909. He has a large law practice in Cleveland.

Bernard W. Hooper
Republican Governor of Tennessee

A Republican governor of Tennessee is a startling fact. Evidently the South is not all Democratic. Bernard W. Hooper was born in Tennessee in 1870. He was admitted to the bar in 1893, was a member of the Tennessee House of Representatives in 1893 and 1895, and United States attorney for the Eastern District of Tennessee, from 1906 to 1910. He was elected governor in 1911.

Lee Cruce
Democratic Governor of Oklahoma

Few of the Western state governors are native-born. Lee Cruce was born in Kentucky in 1863, studied law and removed to Indian Territory in 1891. He engaged in the practice of law in Ardmore, became cashier and president of the Ardmore National Bank, and was elected governor of Oklahoma in 1911.

William Edgar Borah
Republican Senator from Idaho

Senator Borah is one of Roosevelt's former supporters who did not participate in the organization of the National Progressive party. He

was a member of the Republican National Committee and of the Chicago Convention, where he fought hard to seat many of the Roosevelt contestants. He is forty-seven years of age and is serving his first term in the Senate. He was admitted to the bar in 1881, and has practiced since 1891 in Boise, Idaho.

Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich

Republican ex-Senator from Rhode Island

After the death of Senator Mark A. Hanna, Senator Aldrich came to be known as the "general manager" of the United States. With Senator Payne he was the author of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill. He was a member of Congress from 1879 to 1881, when he was elected to the Senate. He was re-elected in 1886, 1892, 1898 and 1905, and declined the nomination for re-election in 1910 in order to devote his entire time to the work of the National Monetary Commission, of which he was made chairman in 1908. He is sixty-one years of age.

William Joel Stone

Democratic Senator from Missouri

Senator Stone is one of the old-line Democrats. He was born in 1848 and has long been identified with both state and national politics. He was admitted to the bar in 1869 and is now in practice at Jefferson City. He was a member of Congress from 1885 to 1891, governor of Missouri from 1893 to 1897, a member of the Democratic National Committee from 1896 to 1904 (vice-chairman from 1900 to 1904), and has been in the Senate since 1903.

Charles Samuel Deneen

Republican Governor of Illinois

One of the rising statesmen of the Republican party is Governor Deneen of Illinois. He was born in 1863 and was admitted to the bar in 1886. He practiced law at Chicago, was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1892, attorney for the Sanitary District of Chicago in 1893 and 1895, and state's attorney of Cook County from 1896 to 1904. He has been governor of Illinois since 1905.

William C. McDonald

Democratic Governor of New Mexico

To William C. McDonald belongs the honor of being first governor of the new state of New Mexico. He was born in New York in 1858, was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1880 and the same year removed to New Mexico. Here he became interested in civil and mining engineering and in cattle-raising. He was a member of the New Mexico legislature in 1891 and 1892, chairman of the Board of County Commissioners for Lincoln County in 1895 and 1896, and chairman of the Democratic Territorial Commission in 1911 and 1912. He was elected governor in 1911.

Joseph Little Bristow

Republican Senator from Kansas

Joseph Little Bristow is known as an influential leader of the Republican Progressives in the Senate. He is a strong advocate of progressive policies, particularly of the direct election of United States senators. Born in 1861, he early became interested in newspaper work and was for a number of years owner and editor of the Salina *Daily Republican* and the Ottawa *Herald*. Since 1903 he has edited the Salina *Daily Republican Journal*. He had charge of the investigation of the Cuban postal frauds and of the reorganization of the Cuban postal service in 1900. He conducted the postal investigation under the Roosevelt administration and was special commissioner for the Panama Railway in 1905. He has been senator since 1909.

Jonathan Bourne, Jr.

Republican Senator from Oregon

Senator Bourne is a staunch believer in popular government. He is a firm supporter of direct primaries and the initiative, referendum and recall. Indeed, his pioneer work in behalf of the latter measures cost him his seat in the Senate. He has been senator since 1907, but was not re-elected in the spring of 1912. Jonathan Bourne is now fifty-seven years of age. He left Harvard to go to sea in 1877; was shipwrecked off Formosa, picked up and taken to Portland, Ore., where he has since resided. He was admitted to the bar in 1881, practiced law, engaged in mining and commercial enterprises, and is now president of various corporations and of the Bourne Cotton Mills in Fall River, Mass.

Weldon Brinton Heyburn

Republican Senator from Idaho

Weldon Brinton Heyburn is serving his second term in the Senate, where he is one of the strong conservative forces. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1852, was admitted to the bar, established a practice, and removed to Idaho in 1883. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1888, 1898, 1900, and was Republican nominee for Congress in 1898. He has been in the Senate since 1903.

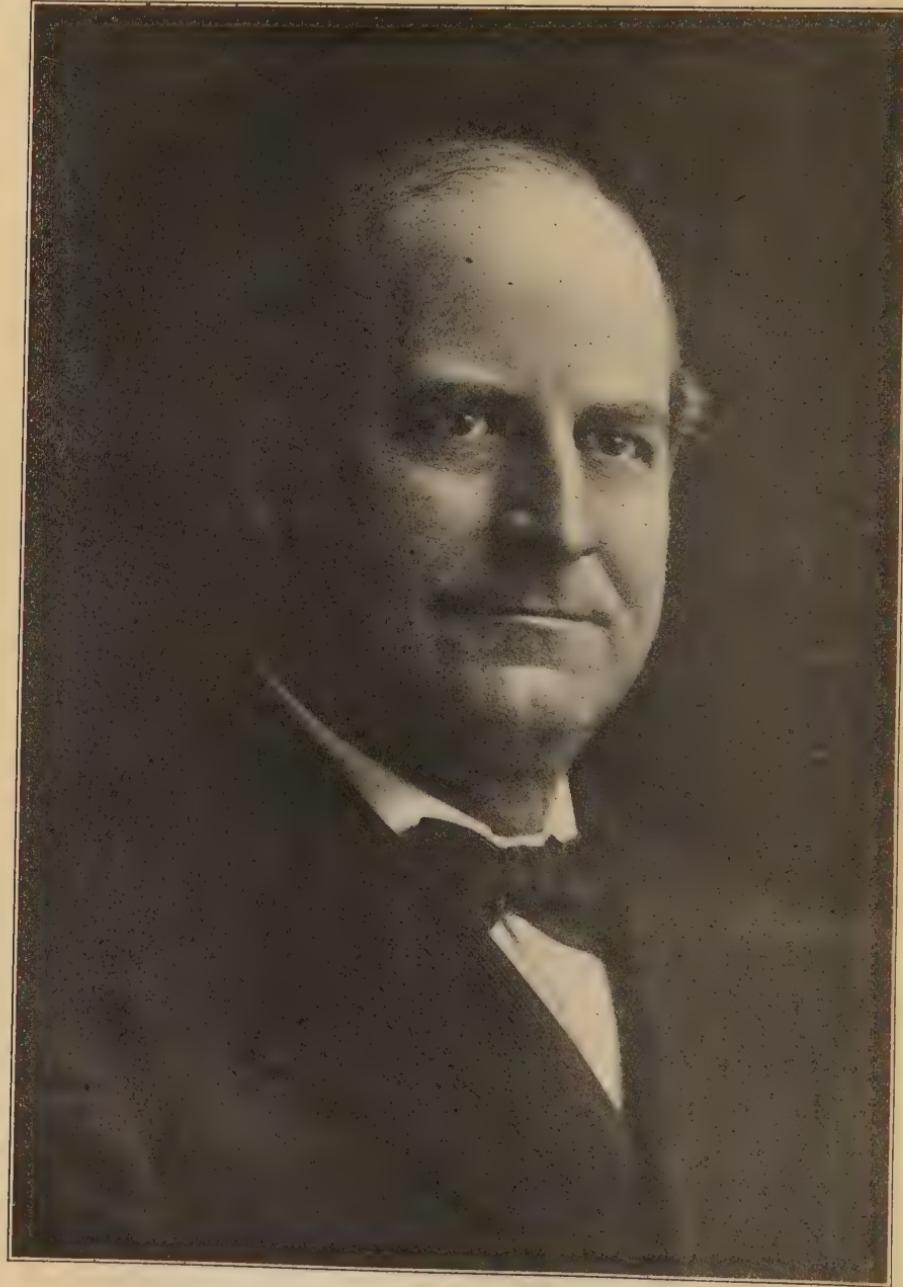
George Clement Perkins

Republican Senator from California

In 1855, George Clement Perkins, a thirteen-year-old farmer's son, went to sea. After three years spent as cabin boy and sailor he landed in California, settled there and married. He carried on a successful mercantile business, went into banking, milling, mining and the steamship business. He was a member of the California Senate from 1869 to 1876; served as governor of California, 1879-83, and was appointed United States senator in 1893 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Leland Stanford. He was re-elected in 1895, 1903 and 1909.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1912 AT BALTIMORE





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WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

BOOK II

The Issues of the Campaign

MY ADMINISTRATION (What I Have Been Trying To Do)

By WILLIAM H. TAFT, President of the United States

MY POLITICAL CREED (Political, Social and Industrial Justice)

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE GOSPEL OF THE PROGRESSIVES

By WOODROW WILSON (Dem.), Governor of New Jersey, and
JOSEPH L. BRISTOW (Rep.), United States Senator from Kansas

THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

By HERBERT S. HADLEY (Rep.), Governor of Missouri
LEE CRUCE (Dem.), Governor of Oklahoma
JOHN F. SHAFROTH (Dem.), Governor of Colorado
HENRY CABOT LODGE (Rep.), United States Senator from Massachusetts
EMMET O'NEAL (Dem.), Governor of Alabama

REFORM OF THE CURRENCY

By NELSON W. ALDRICH (Rep.), Chairman, National Monetary Commission
FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS (Dem.), United States Senator from Nevada

OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED

By LEADERS OF ALL PARTIES, Including

CHAMP CLARK (Dem.), Speaker of the House of Representatives
ELIHU ROOT (Rep.), United States Senator from New York
ALBERT B. CUMMINS (Rep.), United States Senator from Iowa
WILLIAM J. GAYNOR (Dem.), Mayor of New York City
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE (Rep.), United States Senator from Wisconsin
WILLIAM SULZER (Dem.), Congressman from New York
HENRY GEORGE, JR. (Dem.), Congressman from New York
JONATHAN BOURNE, JR. (Rep.), United States Senator from Oregon
HIRAM W. JOHNSON (Rep.), Governor of California
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD (Dem.), Congressman from Alabama

In order that we might present accurately the position of national political leaders on the great questions now before the American people, the editor of this book obtained the articles here given directly from the men who can speak with authority for each party or faction. While we have not been able in every case to use all of the material thus furnished, this book is unique in presenting in their own words the strongest arguments of the highest authorities on both sides of all the important issues.



A RUMP CONVENTION (As Viewed by Roosevelt's Opponents)
"We Don't Know Where We're Going, But We're On Our Way"

The Taft men denied that the primary votes for Roosevelt were entitled to the force which the Roosevelt men attached to them. In the first place, they assert, the presidential primary is a new device to which the voters are not yet accustomed, and the entire vote registered for both candidates represented less than fifty per cent of the party strength; in the second place, they claim that in a number of the states there was nothing to prevent Democrats and Socialists from voting at the Republican primaries. "Under the circumstances," says Charles P. Taft's paper, the Cincinnati "Times-Star," "there is no good reason to believe that a primary indicates the feelings of the mass of the people any more adequately or satisfactorily than the old convention system."—Current Literature.

CHAPTER VI

My Administration

(What I Have Been Trying To Do)

By WILLIAM H. TAFT
President of the United States

SCIENTIFIC TARIFF REFORM—ENFORCEMENT OF THE ANTI-TRUST LAW—
THE PEACE TREATIES—THE MENACE OF THE RECALL.

I was elected president of the United States on the Republican platform of 1908. I am trying to keep faith with the people, who elected me with the understanding that I would carry out the principles of that instrument.

The Republican party declared in that platform that "in all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between cost of production at home and abroad." The party went before the people on that issue and was sustained.

Our Democratic brethren have departed from the faith on a tariff board which a majority of them once embraced, and, in the extraordinary session of last year, they passed three tariff bills without the aid of information from a tariff board, drawn in such an unscientific, unsystematic and reckless way that I did not hesitate to veto them, in order that they might await the coming in of the report by the tariff board upon Schedule K, wool and woolens, which one tariff bill affected, and upon cotton and cotton manufactures, which another tariff bill affected. We should be entirely willing, upon the issue whether those bills ought to have passed in the form in which they were drawn, with the little information as to their effect which congress had, or was able to furnish the executive, to go before the country and invite a verdict of the people.

Scientific Tariff Reform

I think that this is the issue upon which we may safely prove our good faith in regard to a desire to lower duties as far as possible consistent with the protective principle already stated. It brings us to the question, whether, in reducing duties, we are to reduce them with a view to the preservation of our industries and giving them a chance to live, or whether we are to act recklessly without information and without regard to a prob-

able disastrous effect upon an important part of our business. We do not ask for any industry a rate which shall give it an opportunity to enjoy undue profit in competition with the foreign manufacturer, or which shall tempt our manufacturers to form a monopoly in order to secure the artificial benefit of a rate that is higher than the difference in productive conditions. As an evidence of our good faith, we are ready and anxious to abide by the judgment as to the facts by a board of scientific investigators who know no party and no party interest in their researches, and only act as judges of the fact to find the truth.

It seems to me that an administration has no higher duty and can have no higher aim than to permit legitimate business to go on undisturbed and with that confidence in the government which is essential to prosperity. It is assumed that the employers of labor are more interested in the continuance of prosperity than others, but, as a matter of fact, they are less seriously affected by lack of it. As far as the material comforts of life go, the man of capital will be provided whether we have good times or not. It is those who work for daily wages whose welfare and happiness depend chiefly on prosperity, and therefore it is the business of government, so far as it may, to remove all obstacles to prosperity and the going on of business, and to instil confidence into those who control capital so that it may flow out freely and increase and expand those enterprises upon which the wage-earner depends for his support and his livelihood.

Enforcement of the Anti-Trust Law

No charge has been made against me that went nearer to my heart than the charge that I, by the enforcement of the anti-trust law, was injuring the business of the country. I enforced it so far as lay in my power and duty because it is on the statute books. I enforced it because I believe it to be a good law, and I believe it when properly construed to make a right guide for business. I believe that by the construction of the courts of the laws that are on the statute books, and by decisions that are yet to come, the line may clearly be drawn so that business may square itself to those boundaries which the law fixes. I hope that feeling against me on that account has abated—not that I am afraid to enforce the law, because I shall continue to do so—but because I believe in its reasonable enforcement, not with the view of disturbing business, but with a view to reconciling business to the limitations contained in that law.

I should deprecate the suggestion of any so-called reform that involves constitutional changes, without our knowing exactly what we are going to do and what the effect of these changes will be. The constitution has served us well, and we cannot hope, if it is to be amended radically, that those who look to the security and stability of this country will not be so alarmed that business will be interfered with on that account. I am not opposing amendments, just because I would have business undisturbed, because amendments may be necessary, but what I would deprecate is the sudden suggestion of amendments for this end, and amendments for that, and having amendments for breakfast the next morning as if the

amendment of the fundamental law were nothing but the repeal of an ordinary statute or the passage of an ordinary appropriation bill.

The Peace Treaties

There is one other subject which is a rather tender one with me. I am convinced that most of the audiences I had the privilege of addressing within the last year were in favor of passing and ratifying the peace treaties just as they were presented to Congress. It was not that these treaties were going to abolish war; nobody said they would; but it was that they were a step in the direction toward that practical ideal under which war might have been made almost impossible. If we had a treaty like that with every country in Europe, the various countries might have made treaties of the same kind among themselves, and we should have had an interlacing of treaties to sustain an arbitral court into which any nation might have gone for the purpose of vindicating its right against any other nation, might have secured judgment and have that other nation abide the result, because of public opinion of all the nations of the world, or, if they did not respond to that, by an international police force. That is the ideal toward which we were reaching out. They have amended the treaty in the Senate and have put in so many exceptions that really it is very doubtful whether the adoption of such a treaty will be a step forward. But I give notice that I have not lost interest in that point and I have no thought of surrendering, because I intend, so far as I can and so long as I may raise my voice, to continue to favor general universal arbitration. I acknowledge and admit the power of the Senate, and I believe it to be a great part of the structure of our government, and I would not have it eliminated for anything. I recognize the authority of the Senate and have no quarrel with the exercise of that authority, but the ultimate source of all authority in this government is the people. It is the people who, by deliberate judgment—it may be after years and it may be after decades that they are aroused and make up their minds—can effect a reform which commends itself to their hearts and their souls and their minds, and it is upon them that I depend in this matter. It may be that it will not come to all of us, but it is coming, sure as fate. What abolished the duello? Was it anything but a sense of humor? Was it anything but appreciation of the fact that a man who permitted himself to be shot at in order to satisfy his feeling about the insult that had been inflicted on him, merely made himself a mark? Is there anything more ridiculous than our going to war with some country on some subject important, perhaps, but not important enough to involve the lives of 100,000 of our citizens, or hundreds of millions of our treasure? Does not everyone know that the better way of settling questions of honor and every other question is to submit them to a tribunal of honest men who shall decide them according to the rules of righteousness and law rather than to try them by the rules of might, settling them by might and not by right? I believe that universal arbitration is coming, because I believe in the common sense of the American people that makes them play the game according to the rules and with a sportsmanlike will-

ingness to abide a judgment against them when it comes. This idea of statesmanship that insists that we shall always have the judgment, whether we are right or wrong, is a short-sighted idea of statesmanship. It does not abide in the permanent morality of the world as we should wish to establish it. If we are going into the arbitration business, we must go into it all over, willing to endure defeat in order to sustain the court and not insist upon regulating the court every time it fails to come up to our expectations.

We have treaties pending also with Nicaragua and Honduras to carry out the policy of the treaty with Santo Domingo and they ought to be ratified. The responsibility for bad government in those Central American states and for revolution and disturbances must fall upon the shoulders of those who defeat the treaties. They are pending in the Senate, and it is the hope of all that, within a reasonable time, after full discussion, they may receive the approval of the necessary two thirds of that body.

The Menace of the Recall

There are other aims of government to which reference might be made, such as the movement looking to greater economy and efficiency in government work and expenditures; penny postage through postal economies; extension of practical conservation acts; parcels post; revision of currency laws and prevention of panics; scientific study of industrial conditions and international investigation of the high cost of living. But there is one subject to which I would refer in conclusion. Should the Republican party take up the judicial recall as one of its tenets, it would lose caste as a defender of our civilization, a maintainer of the Constitution, and an upholder of justice. When we depart from the principles of the independence of the judiciary—and by independence I mean not only independence of individual interests, but independence of majorities—we shall lose the valuable essence of the administration of justice and we shall retrograde to the point where the history of the decadence of republics begins. I am not unmindful of the necessity for judicial reforms, but that depends not on changing the character of the judges, but upon the change of procedure, the expedition of judgments, and the reduction of the expense of litigation. These things must be the result of hard detailed work by men willing to accomplish reforms without spectacular reward. The great body of our judges are learned, upright, patriotic men. It is entirely possible to provide for the removal of those who are not, by proper procedure before a tribunal in which the accused judge shall have a hearing. It is not necessary to limit the ground of removal to high crimes and misdemeanors; it can be extended to incompetence, or to neglect of any demonstrated departure from judicial duty. But let us have a hearing, let us have an impartial tribunal, and let us not take away that priceless and indispensable quality in the judiciary—its independence.

CHAPTER VII

My Political Creed

(Political, Social and Industrial Justice)

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

A good friend of mine who has been asked many questions about the political philosophy which I endeavored to interpret and formulate in my speeches has put those questions in the form of a short catechism; and in answering them I have endeavored to outline the philosophy.

What is the aim for which political Progressives are striving?

The promotion of genuine popular government in America, the defense of human rights, and the establishment of social and industrial justice, so that every force in the community may be directed towards securing for the average man and average woman a higher and better and fuller life in the things of the body no less than those of the mind and soul.

Do you believe that the pursuit of this aim requires the adoption of new and radical principles?

No. I believe it requires a new and radical application of the old principles of justice and common honesty, which are as eternal as life itself. New methods and new machinery are needed for carrying these principles into our national existence; and also a broader sympathy, so that our justice may be generous and human, and not merely legalistic.

Do you believe in a short ballot?

I do. I consider it one of the most important methods to be adopted. By the "short ballot" I mean the principle of electing few men to important offices and making more administrative offices appointive. This is the method that is pursued in our federal government. The people have nothing whatever to fear from giving any public servant power so long as they retain their own power to hold him accountable to them. You will get best service where you elect only a few men, each of whom has his definite duties and responsibilities, and is obliged to work in the open so that the people know who he is and what he does.

Do you believe in direct primaries?

I do. In the state the primary should be of the simplest form (consistent with preventing fraud) that will enable each individual voter to act directly on the nomination of elective officers; in the nation presidential primaries should be so framed that the voters may choose their delegates and at the same time express their *preference* for nominees for the presidency. At the present moment our political machines are using their power to defraud the people out of their right to make nominations.

Do you believe in the election of United States senators by the people?

I do. I think the people are just as competent to elect United States senators directly as they are to elect governors or representatives in congress or state legislatures.

Do you believe in the initiative or referendum?

Yes, under certain definite limitations. Action by the initiative or referendum ought *not* to be the normal way of legislation; I think the legislature should be given an entirely free hand. But I believe the people should have the power to reverse or supplement the work of the legislature, *whenever it becomes necessary*.

Do you believe in the recall?

I believe the people should be provided with the means of recalling or un-electing important elective administrative officers, to be used only when there is a widespread and genuine public feeling for such a recall among a majority of the voters. I believe that there is scant necessity for using it in connection with short-term elective officers.

Do you believe in the recall of judges?

I believe that the evils which have led to the very widespread proposal to apply the recall to judges are very real. I see no reason why the people, if they are competent to elect judges, are not also competent to un-elect them. I think the judiciary should be made clearly to understand that they represent justice for the whole people. Personally, and having in view the success of the Massachusetts system, I am at present inclined to believe that judges should be appointive. Then we can apply the principle of the recall to the appointive power. In addition, I would have the appointive judges removable; and, in feeling our way to the proper solution, I would try having this done by a majority vote of the two houses of the legislature, as in Massachusetts, whenever the people through their representatives feel that the needs of the people require such removal. But this is merely my preference; and, moreover, my prime concern is with the end, not the means. I wish to see good judges put on the bench and bad ones taken off it. Any system which in its actual workings accomplishes these two ends is a good system. I do not wish to use the recall if it is possible to avoid doing so; but I would far rather have recourse to the recall than continue the present system, which provides an impeachment remedy that in practice never works, and provides no efficient way whatever for overruling judicial misconstruction of the Constitution.

Do you believe in the "review of judicial decisions" by state courts, and what do you mean by it?

I do. What I mean may be fully expressed by the phrase, "the right of the people to review certain judicial decisions which nullify laws demanded by the people in the exercise of the police or general welfare power on the ground that these laws are unconstitutional." This would amount to a simpler method of construing or amending the judicial interpretation of the Constitution wherever such interpretation becomes clearly adverse to human rights. I believe, as I have said over and over again, that when the highest court of a state differs from the legislature of that state on the question of the constitutionality of a law vitally affecting the con-

ditions of life and labor among wage-earners, the people should have the right to determine in an election whether the constitution which they have framed was meant by them to permit such a law. This method cannot apply to questions as to the federal constitution; I have made this distinction clear in my Columbus speech. The jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court concerning the federal constitution must remain supreme over the whole people. The constitutions of the separate states are in daily process of making by the people of those states, and I would therefore vest in the people of each state the final authority as to what their state constitution should be. I would *not* make the people the final judge in legal questions between individuals, but I *would* in such a conflict as that above outlined between the legislature and the judiciary in any given state.

The personal differences between some of my opponents and myself are only incidents of a fundamental difference of view. My opponents believe, as many of the founders of our government believed, that the people as a whole have neither the capacity nor the training to decide questions of broad governmental policy. Many of our fathers thought that the people could not be trusted to elect presidents or senators and therefore devised the electoral college, which we have abandoned, and the legislative method of electing senators, which we are abandoning. My opponents think that a special class, the legal class, is the proper one finally to determine questions of basic political philosophy; I believe that the ultimate authority rests in the people and must be exercised by the people. This of course does not mean that the people should not employ experts to do their work for them. For instance, having selected the president, the voters should give him full executive power; but if the voters decide that they want a parcels post, they should expect him to make, with loyalty to their decision, the best parcels post that can be made; and they will not expect him to decide for them as to whether they are to have a parcels post or not. In law, having framed the constitution and the statutes, they should choose the best judge that they can to carry out the provisions of the constitution and the statutes; but if they decide that they want a workmen's compensation act, they ought to expect the judge to administer such an act, and not to determine whether a workmen's compensation act is good for them or not. It is none of the judge's business to say whether the people ought to wish and to have such an act; it is the people's business, and only theirs. If the people decide (as the Canadians have decided) that it is a true function of government to regulate the relations of organized capital and labor, including wages, hours, and conditions of work, they will not expect the judges—and the judges must not expect—to decide that this is not a true function of government; and if the judges endeavor to assert their view as opposed to the people's view, the people ought in legal fashion to tell them they are mistaken, and, if the judges persist, remove them and get judges who will administer the law based upon the theory of government which the people in the exercise of their sober and deliberate judgment have decided to be good.

CHAPTER VIII

The Gospel of the Progressive

By WOODROW WILSON

Governor of New Jersey

GROWTH OF PROGRESSIVE SENTIMENT—ADJUSTING THE LAW TO THE FACTS
—EVILS TO BE REMEDIED—THE NEW ISSUES—CO-OPERATION FOR
PROGRESS.

A few years ago, a few months ago, it was a matter of common remark that the field of our politics was singularly confused and disordered; party lines everywhere broken, or breaking; party labels losing their significance; party combinations threatening to break and re-form themselves. But in recent months the scene has become more ordered and definite. Every careful observer can now perceive that certain great, definite, calculable forces are at work, the character of which is being more and more plainly disclosed, their movement and direction more and more clearly defined.

To many this changing scene has seemed ominous. They have feared that the foundations of our politics were being threatened with disturbance. They have thought that they saw in what was happening about them a peril to business and to all the fixed conditions of our life. Some had even fancied that these conditions had been artificially produced; they have thought that they discovered in them the artful work of demagogues and disturbers of the public peace; of men who wished to produce unsettled conditions and set the various elements of society at loggerheads with one another. They have thought that irresponsible agitators were producing these conditions in order to accomplish their own reckless purposes. But no one who views the scene calmly and in the large, no one who sees it steadily and sees it whole, can really believe that these great, almost universal, movements of opinion, have been produced in any such fashion. I do not see how anybody who has really studied and comprehended the situation of the country and the actual conditions of politics, can look forward to the outcome with anything but hope and satisfaction.

Growth of Progressive Sentiment

The great progressive sentiment which now more and more dominates the country, and only awaits its opportunity to determine the politics of the government, is not accidental, is not merely a passing phase expres-

sive of the temperament of an eager people. It is a thing that has arisen steadily by natural and inevitable force, like the tides of the ocean.

The most profitable thing that we can do, in order to reassure ourselves, is to ask why this great body of progressive opinion has grown so strong; why it has spread to almost every part of the country. The facts are unmistakable enough. The history of the present administration has illustrated them at every turn. We have seen an honest and patriotic man in the presidential chair struggling with the rising power, involved in greater and greater difficulties, because he did not understand that power, or comprehend the great purposes that lay behind it, and yet unable to curb it and seeming, in spite of himself, to increase its volume by the very acts attempted to check it. What has happened? What is it that the stand-pat ranks of the Republican party vaguely battle with? Why is the country attempting to break away from old party formulas, and blaze a new path for itself in politics under a changed leadership, and by new measures of reform?

Because within less than a generation all the economic conditions of life and business in this country have changed almost beyond recognition, while our politics have all but stood still. There has been much controversy. There has been loud shouting as if upon a field of battle. Hosts have contended with each other, with the wild beating of arms, one against the other, but few definite adjustments of policy to changed conditions have been accomplished. Some measures of reform there have been, but there has been no steady, consistent force to give them their full effect, to guide them, to adapt them to conditions all along the line. It is as if the rising waters of progressive sentiment had gathered deeper and deeper, higher and higher, behind the stand-pat dam, because no one knew how to release them. The sum of the matter is that our life has changed and that our policies are belated. Our laws lag almost a generation behind our business conditions and our political exigencies.

Adjusting the Law to the Facts

Those who insist upon undertaking the adjustment, those who argue that our laws should be brought up to date—to the date marked upon the calendar of our economic advance and change—are called radicals, not because they would change the facts, but because they would adjust the law to the facts. The maladjustment which they point out is so great that men are startled at the picture and think that only extreme and hasty and violent measures may be thought adequate to meet the extraordinary circumstances which “radical” reformers pitilessly point out.

There is going to be no Johnstown flood; the dam is made of good stubborn masonry; it is not going to give suddenly away. It is, on the contrary, going to be gradually replaced, by well considered constructive engineering, with new, well-ordered channels into which the released waters may pass and in which as they run they may be used to turn the machinery of a still greater industrial organization than that which we have so far built up—an organization more justly put together; an organization

whose parts shall be assembled and operated in a way more suitable to free opportunity and untrammeled achievement.

While the waters have piled up, the sediment of passion has settled in them; they have grown clearer. We have had time to comprehend and to think. While sentiment has beat against almost insuperable obstacles and has seemed again and again to be baffled by them, we have been obliged to study both the rising forces and the withstanding barriers. We see more, and we see more clearly than we ever did before. We shall now be able to relieve the strain like true and thoughtful engineers. We shall conserve while we readjust.

Evils to be Remedied

Recent investigations have been of the greatest service. They have disclosed and are disclosing, item by item, just the methods of business which have been most harmful and most unjust. I think they have opened the eyes of the very men who gave the testimony. A system of business and a system of finance have been laid bare which are manifestly inconsistent with the welfare of big business, no less than with the welfare of the country at large.

It is evident that while great fortunes have been piled up and a great business development forced, the true, permanent, economic interests of the country have not been served. There has been something abnormal about the process.

We see that somewhere near the center of the whole trouble lies the great system of governmental favors which we call the tariff. Round about the tariff has been built up a body of business undertaking in which control has been too much concentrated. In order to maintain this control it has been necessary to be secure of the patronage of the government, and so business has gone deep into politics. Legislative action has been controlled by special business interests. Party machinery has been used to serve private purposes and to make sure pecuniary profit. The whole normal process of government has been reversed and government itself has come to be privately owned. The phrase may be exaggerated but it is only the brief epitome of a state of affairs, the main facts of which are only too plain.

The New Issues

It may be worth while, in view of the importance of the subject, for me to summarize somewhat more formally what I have heretofore said with reference to the new methods of direct government.

In the first place, with regard to my own state of mind, I surrendered to the facts, as every candid man must. My whole prepossession—my whole reasoning—was against these things. But when I came into contact with candid, honest, public-spirited men who could speak (with regard, for example, to Oregon) from personal observation and experience, they floored me flat with their narration of what had actually happened. I found in the men who had advocated these things, who had put them in operation, and who had accomplished things by them, not critics or oppo-

nents of representative government, but men who were eager to restore it where it had been lost, and who had taken—successfully taken—these means to recover for the people what they had unquestionably lost—control of their own affairs.

In short, they were not trying to change our institutions. The initiative, referendum and recall were to their eyes (as they are to mine) merely a means to an end—that end being the restoration of the control of public opinion. Where opinion already controls, where there is now actual, genuine representative government, as I believe there is in Virginia and in the South in general, they are not necessary. Each state must judge for itself. I do not see how it could be made a subject of national policy. The people will, in my opinion, demand these measures only where they are manifestly necessary to take legislation and the control of administrative action away from special, hopelessly entrenched interests. They are no general or universal panaceas!

The recall of judges I am absolutely against, and always have been. It is a remedy for a symptom, not for a disease—the disease being the control of the system by influences which general opinion has ceased to control.

It interested me very much to find that even in Oregon literally no one thought of these new methods of action as a substitute for representative institutions, but only as a means of stimulation and control. They are as devoted to the idea of our representative institutions as we are—and are bent upon realizing these ideas in practice. That is their conscious object.

As for the recall, it is seldom used outside the municipalities. I do not remember an instance of its use on a state officer. It is merely “a gun behind the door.”

Co-operation for Progress

Progressives are drawing together, not to destroy anything, but to effect a wholesome readjustment; not hastily—not by any too extensive plan which runs beyond what we see and know; but item by item we must set the government free from private control and set business free from private control, so that the economic courses of our life may run free again, and that with their freedom we may return to individual opportunity and open the gates to fresh, untrammeled achievement.

And the means will not be a doctrinaire program, but common counsel. We must extend the lines of our debate to every class of society. We must by one means or another hold a grand assize again of the whole nation. We must find spokesmen for every class and interest, and with open mind go step by step towards the consummation we seek.

Surely this is a program to quicken every pulse and to draw all thoughtful, energetic, capable, patriotic men together for a common effort in the service of the country and of humanity. This is the gospel of the Progressive.

CHAPTER IX

What the Republican Progressives Stand For

By JOSEPH L. BRISTOW

United States Senator from Kansas

TRUST PROSECUTIONS AND THE TARIFF—RECALL OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS—
RECALL OF JUDGES—THE COMMERCE COURT—THE ARBITRATION
TREATIES—WHAT THE PROGRESSIVES WANT.

The masses of the American people are not reactionary, and will not support any party that is. Mr. Roosevelt defeated Mr. Parker by a tremendous majority because Mr. Parker was reactionary and Mr. Roosevelt was progressive. Mr. Taft defeated Mr. Bryan because the people believed that Mr. Taft was standing for the Republican Progressive ideas. If they had not believed that, he would not have been elected.

It is hard for any one in Washington, or New York, or Philadelphia, or any of these eastern cities, surrounded by men of wealth and naturally conservative minds, to judge of the intense feeling that exists among the people, regardless of their political affiliations, against the domination of our political affairs by the financial interests of the country—a domination that is directed wholly from a selfish standpoint, and that seeks to have laws enacted and decisions of courts rendered that will bring dividends, irrespective of the justice or equity of business conduct. It is the feeling against this domination of politics in the interests of the dividends of the great corporations that is stirring the people to hostility. The people of the West know that the trust question was not settled by the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust decisions. They know that the Tobacco Trust and the Standard Oil Company are just as potent now as they ever were. Their component members are controlled by the same minds; the dividends accumulate and go into the pockets of the same individuals; the companies dominated by the Standard Oil will be dominated by the same influence in a different way. The men who profited by the Tobacco Trust will profit in the future under these decisions as they have in the past.

Trust Prosecutions and the Tariff

The people think that a lot of these big grafters who have been violating the law ought to be sent to jail, and there is no indication that

there is any real prospect of sending those fellows to jail. As the operations of these men become known, as the people realize how they have accumulated their millions, they become indignant. The levying of fines on these corporations—fines which in turn are assessed upon the people—is a source of irritation to the average man. The bringing of suit, the securing of judgment, the assessing of fines, or the order for dissolution of a corporation that goes ahead and proceeds on the same lines, as the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust are practically doing now, does not impress the people with the fact that anything substantial is being done. They feel as though it was a lot of froth and the substantial remedies were not being applied. It does not change conditions materially.

The people of the West are not hostile to property rights. They believe that a man who has honestly invested a dollar in a public utility like a railway or street car line ought to have a fair return on that investment, and they are willing to pay any reasonable charge that is necessary in order to make that dollar pay a decent and fair return. But they will not consent to and will not tolerate a system of business that enables men to collect a return from the public upon millions of securities that do not represent a dollar of investment.

So long as the promoters and managers of the corporations insist upon taxing the people in the form of rates and charges to pay interest or dividends upon millions of watered stocks that represent not a dollar of actual money invested in their properties, so long will there be an intense and bitter hostility to these corporations, and a determination that they shall not control the politics of the nation in order to perpetuate this system, by which they have accumulated millions without the investment of any money. It is simply a question of a square deal.

The Tariff

The Progressive Republicans stand for an honest protective policy that measures the difference in the cost of production in the United States and her competing countries. We are for a policy that protects American wages, and that sees that the protection given actually goes to those for whom it is intended.

Recall of Judicial Decisions

I am an advocate of the general policy described as "popular government," which brings up the subject of the recall of judicial decisions advocated by Colonel Roosevelt in his speech to the Ohio Legislature.

His proposition, as I interpret it, is that if the legislature of a state passes a law, which is approved by the governor and becomes a statute of the state, and the supreme court of that state, passing upon that law, declares it to be unconstitutional and therefore void, upon petitions at the next general election the question shall be submitted to the people for them to determine whether the law as passed by the legislature and approved by the governor shall stand, or whether the constitution of the state as interpreted by the supreme court shall continue to stand, and

the law thereby fail. In other words, the people shall determine whether the law so enacted shall stand and the constitution be so modified as not to be repugnant to it. Since the people themselves make their constitution, this simply gives them an opportunity to modify that constitution in this respect, if, in their judgment, it ought so to be modified. I believe the people ought to have that opportunity. Both sides of the question would be presented clearly to them; the one in the action of the legislature and the argument of the legal department of the state government in its behalf before the court, and the other in the decision of the court finding against it. By this means the highest authority within a republic ultimately decides what its laws shall be. If the people are capable of self-government, if they are capable of wisely adopting a constitution, then they are capable, in my judgment, of wisely modifying its provisions. To deny them this right is not in harmony with the principles underlying free government.

Recall of Judges

I think the same rule ought to be applied to the recall of judicial officers that is applied to legislative and executive officers. Our judicial officers are not superior either in intelligence, learning, or character to our legislative and executive officers, and the same test should be applied to them that is applied to all others. I think the best judicial systems that we have in our country are those where the judges are elected by the people for short terms. It does not rob these judges of their independence, but does make them more considerate of the actual economic and industrial conditions that exist. This, in my opinion, is vital to the welfare of our country.

I do not think that the recall will be used to any considerable extent. It would be only the most flagrant cases in which it would be resorted to. Experience demonstrates that in the states which have it. It is simply a safeguard which the people prescribe against unfaithful officers.

The Commerce Court

The way in which the new Commerce Court has overturned orders of the Inter-State Commerce Commission simply adds to that general dissatisfaction which has been growing up for some years with the federal judiciary. The Commerce Court, in my opinion, was created for the purpose of interfering with the effectiveness of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Inter-State Commerce Commission has been of inestimable service to the American people. Congress has, year by year, greatly enlarged its powers, until it is becoming an efficient agency in the protection of the people from the selfishness and greed of the great railway companies. Realizing the danger which this Commission might become to their domination of our transportation affairs, the railway interests sought to have this Court established, because experience has taught them that the courts are their best friends. And the experience of the people since this Court was created has demonstrated that they well knew

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PRINCIPAL DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES VOTED FOR BESIDES THE NOMINEE

what they wanted. The Commerce Court is an impediment to the effectiveness of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. It never should have been created, and it ought to be immediately abolished.

The Arbitration Treaties

I was interested in Mr. Taft's speeches on the arbitration treaties, to some of which I listened. He did not awaken any special public interest in the treaties. The people largely are in favor of arbitration; but they failed to get interested in the controversy as to the details of the treaties. Both sides declared for arbitration. The people read both sides of the discussion. Some think one way, and some the other. The country has not been disturbed by the issue.

During the President's trip last fall the people extended to him a courteous reception everywhere, which showed that they appreciate the dignity and greatness of his office. Men who had been opposed to the President before, and who are still opposed to him, extended him a cordial welcome. But the President said nothing to the people in the Middle West that in any way appealed to the popular imagination. He said nothing that materially injured him, but, in my judgment, there was a feeling of disappointment on the part of those who were friendly to him—who had a personal regard for him—and on the part of the friends who want him to be renominated and re-elected, because he did not on that trip say something which they could use to build up sentiment in his favor. Unfortunately for the President, he has not since his election made any declarations on any question that have strengthened him with the people of the West.

The Democratic party won in the last congressional election, not because of anything it had done or anything it was planning to do, but because the people were dissatisfied with what the Republican party failed to do, chiefly in the revision of the tariff.

What the Progressives Want

I believe that a great majority of the American people indorse the position which the Progressive Republicans have taken on public questions—on the tariff, on the amendment of the Inter-State Commerce Law, and on other legislative matters that have been before Congress. We propose to continue the fight along the same line in every session of Congress until we succeed. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law must be amended so that it will be effective in preventing monopoly or in controlling monopoly—one of the two. The tariff must be revised in harmony with the declaration of the Republican national platform of 1908. The control of politics by the financial interests for selfishness and for gain must be broken. What we need is a Progressive Congress, a Progressive executive administration, and Progressive courts. And if the Republican party honestly, sincerely, and effectively stands for these things, it will be intrusted with the administration of public affairs by the American people. If it does not, it will not be.

CHAPTER X

Shall the People Rule?

By CHAMP CLARK

Speaker of the House of Representatives

CO-ORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS—THE THIRD-TERM RULE—
REVISION OF THE TARIFF—OTHER ISSUES SUBORDINATE TO THE TARIFF
AND TRUSTS—LOW TARIFF RATES NEEDED—ABOLISH MONOPOLIES—
CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES—TIDE TURNING TOWARD
POPULAR RULE.

The same thing is the matter with this country as with every civilized country under the blue dome of heaven. The spirit of unrest is not confined to the United States. We see it in England; across the Channel in every country of Europe. In the Far East, China and Japan, even in benighted India, is the same demand that opportunity shall be equalized for all men. It is the fight of the average man for his rights, just as it has been in every really great national contest in history.

Behind this contest, as always, are the forces of progress, resisted by those who always would preserve the *status quo*. The stand-patters have not been confined to this country—they have been in every fight against progress everywhere, and they have sought to retain privilege against the rights of the average man.

It is decidedly interesting to observe the swing of the pendulum in the last forty-odd years. In the days of Andrew Johnson the legislative branch encroached upon the prerogatives of the executive branch until the executive was reduced to a nullity. In these latter days, through encroachments of the executive branch, the Congress has fallen from the high estate of a co-ordinate branch of the government to the despicable position of an animated cash register for the executive branch. It matters not whether the executive operates with the big stick or with a smile which will not come off, the power of the Congress constantly dwindles, while that of the executive mounts to imperial, even autocratic, proportions. Some men are so constituted that so soon as they come into the presence of the president their courage oozes out, as did that of Bob Acres. Every new office we create adds to the growing power of the executive, and yet we go on constantly augmenting the bread and butter brigade.

Day in and day out members of Congress rise in their places and an-

iously inquire if such and such a bill has been recommended or indorsed by the head of an executive department. If so, they seem to think it all right. If not so, it is all wrong. They forget that these heads of departments, who are excellent gentlemen no doubt, are the mere appointees of the president—head clerks—and hold office at his pleasure. Some of them could not be elected to Congress from any constituency in the land, while we hold our commissions directly from the people for a period of two years, are directly responsible to the people, and are not responsible to the chief executive or any of his subordinates.

At the present rate of growth of executive power it will not be long till an American Cromwell will stalk into Congress at the head of his Iron-sides, and, pointing to the mace, roar out the command which was heard in the English House of Commons some two hundred and sixty years ago, "Away with that bauble!" and thereby arrogate to himself all the functions of government.

The wisest thing the fathers did was to separate the functions of government into the legislative, executive, and judicial; and, mark you, the legislative comes first. The creation of a tariff commission is an indirect effort to mix the legislative and the executive.

Co-Ordination of Government Departments

Apart from concrete political issues, we could borrow an idea from the English people which, I believe, would strengthen our system. Have you ever noted that our three departments of government are not co-ordinated? That they maintain in a measure an armed truce toward each other? That they act mostly as though each one needed to protect itself against the others?

¹⁷ This is not a fault of any who at a given time hold the reins of authority in the several departments. It is because there is no co-ordination between them. Although it is not yet clear just how we could finally and completely achieve this desired co-ordination, it is clear that we could approximate it by adopting the English plan of having all members of the cabinet sit with the legislative branch to discuss plans and give reports when needed for intelligent action by the members of the congress.

In this country the cabinet members cannot be members of the legislative branch. In England they must be. If a man be appointed to a cabinet position in England, and he be not a member of either legislative branch, he must straightway go and get himself elected from some constituency. That is the condition upon which he may retain the membership in the cabinet.

The theory over there is that the government is responsive to the people. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brings in the annual Budget. He is before the House of Commons for cross-examination as to why he inserted this or that item. Now, cross-examination is the best method ever devised by the wit of man to bring forth the truth. There is not time for the cross-examined to prepare crafty answers—he must answer

on the spot. So that the Commons may place the Minister on cross-examination and get the truth from him at the instant.

The Budget system is another excellent idea that could be taken from England. The Budget is a statement of the expected incomes and expenses of the government. Under that system, the legislative branch has, at the beginning of the session, all the needed information, instead of having it segregated among the fourteen appropriation bills and brought to the House in piecemeal. The Budget is simply good business sense.

Revision of the Tariff

I am for a tariff for revenue only; or as close an approximation thereto as the circumstances permit. The Democratic party favors a gradual reduction of the tariff. It is a thing incredible, that any sane man should desire to injure any legitimate business. What we contend for is that every legitimate business and every citizen have equal opportunity, and that laws be passed that will enable no few to be the beneficiaries of the toil and sweat and lives of the thousands. Changes in the tariff should be so that legitimate business can adjust itself to it. But we are utterly opposed to a system which forces the consumers to pay two prices for that which they consume.

The results of the election of 1910, and also the by-elections since then, have demonstrated that the people cannot be scared any longer by the cry that the Democrats will injure the business of the country. It was a preposterous statement to begin with. But that bogie-man can no longer be used successfully in our elections.

Other Issues Subordinate to the Tariff and Trusts

As to the relative values of the many issues pending, there are some of them of vital importance. But I believe that there can be no real reform until the tariff has been lowered and the trusts abolished. There are these important issues:

That of transportation, reform of the financial system, final determination of who shall control the potential power in the waters of navigable streams, preservation of our natural resources (what there is left of them), the getting of all election machinery close to the people, preventing corrupt use of money in politics, reforestation, improvement of the rivers and harbors, automatic compensation to workingmen. These are all questions of deep interest and vital importance. But I cannot understand how they are to be solved first until the tariff and the trusts are disposed of—hence I am for tackling the tariff and trusts, and doing it just as fast as we can, in a manner compatible with sound business judgment and the evolution of remedial measures.

There should be a real tariff board of genuine experts, not broken-down politicians. This board should be responsive to the demands of the Ways and Means Committee, and not to the president. Tariff bills must originate in the House. The members of the Ways and Means Committee are the first men to have to do with the framing of tariff bills.

Neither myself nor other Democrats ever objected to getting information on that or any other question. But, inasmuch as the president is the last one to pass on a tariff measure, it is ridiculous to have the tariff board report to him.

The tariff is one of the largest and most complicated questions to which the mind of man can turn. It ramifies to every business, and influences, directly or indirectly, the prosperity and happiness of every man, woman, and child between the two seas.

Low Tariff Rates Needed

I have been studying the tariff for twenty years. After these twenty years I feel much as did Sir Isaac Newton when he likened himself to a boy picking up shells on the seashore. The very size of the question prevents speedy and definite action. But, hard as it is to work out the details of an intelligently constructed tariff bill, we must, if we study history aright, concede that a low tariff is in the interest of all legitimate business, and of every citizen.

The lowest tariff law was created by the adoption of the Walker Bill in 1846. It remained on the statute-books without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t" for eleven years. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years in Congress," declared these years of the Walker Law to be the most prosperous in the history of the republic. The Walker tariff produced so large a surplus that March 2, 1857, Franklin Pierce, a Democrat, signed a bill cutting rates lower. This new bill was voted for by all the anti-Democrats in the House, and signed by the first Republican Speaker, Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts. It received an almost unanimous vote from the Democrats, old-line Whigs, Republicans, and Know-Nothings.

If the Civil War had not come on, I believe tariff rates never would have been high in this country, because low tariffs were working so successfully. It is true that we had a money stringency in 1857, and high tariff advocates blamed the low tariff for it. President James Buchanan declared it was caused by wild speculation in Western lands, and by the currency; and every one who knows the facts knows that he stated the exact truth, because the tariff was not changed, and the times got good again in 1858 and 1859.

I believe that, had there never been a high tariff, there never would have been a trust. It seems to be the settled policy of this nation to raise a large part of its revenue from tariff imposts. We get more than three hundred millions from that source each year. That being the case, rates should be so that a maximum of revenue should be produced at a minimum of cost to the consumer. In adjusting the tariff, the highest rates should be on luxuries, the lowest or none at all on the necessities of life.

Abolish Monopolies

The idea of monopoly is repugnant to me. I simply cannot understand how we can protect opportunity for the common man and establish

monopolies, countenanced by the government, even although they be honestly regulated in the desire to prevent extortion. I am for abolition of the trusts, because I can see no other way to solve the problem consistently with the American theory that all men shall have equal opportunity.

Study the history of England, and read of the granting of monopolies by the British Crown in past generations. You will find that those who received these monopoly privileges later sold them back to the government for perpetual pensions; and that still later the English government has been buying these pension rights to abolish them entirely.

Monopoly will not do in this country, either. Hence I am for the abolition of the trusts, which fatten on monopoly.

Many other things besides an exorbitant tariff operated to cause the remarkable movement toward centralization of industrial enterprise control. One thing that has contributed largely has been mechanical inventions in the past seventy-five years, which have wrought the changed conditions under which we live. Only lately the people have awakened to the important truth that, by reason of these inventions, certain public agencies have come into existence that need governmental regulation. For instance, no man in his senses would injure the railways. Yet it must be apparent to every sensible man that institutions which have such vast powers must be regulated, wisely, justly, and for the benefit of the public.

That is one instance. I could cite a dozen. But the people are beginning to study these new problems forced on them by the new conditions, and all patriotic and sensible men will try to solve them in the manner that will promote the public welfare.

Tide Turning Toward Popular Rule

My own judgment is that the tide is turning, and that the people are regaining the control of the government to which they are entitled. This, of course, is based on the assumption that they had largely lost their control, and that selfish men had grasped the functions of government to their own ends. But, so it seems to me, there are signs on every hand that the reaction has come, and that the common people are going to take hold and run things to suit themselves.

Whenever any man stands up and undertakes to do anything for the benefit of the great masses of the people, he is denounced by "the interests" as a demagogue and is charged with playing politics. But to stand up and advocate the cause of "the interests" is the highest evidence of statesmanship! I sprang from the loins of the common people, God bless them! and I am one of them.

CHAPTER XI

What Mr. Roosevelt's Election Will Mean to the Business World*

By FRANK A. MUNSEY

Publisher of *Munsey's Magazine*

THE CHARGES AGAINST ROOSEVELT—ROOSEVELT'S RAILROAD REGULATIONS—THE NORTHERN SECURITIES VICTORY—THE PANIC OF 1907—A WARNING THAT WAS NOT HEEDED—WAS MR. ROOSEVELT RESPONSIBLE?—ROOSEVELT'S RECORD AS PRESIDENT—CHANGED CONDITIONS OF TO-DAY—A POST THAT CALLS FOR A STRONG MAN—OUR NEED OF FIRST-RATE LEADERSHIP.

This article is written on the day following the Ohio preferential primary, March 22d. Things are moving so rapidly in these times that a magazine article, necessarily written several weeks before publication, but read as from the date of the issue of the magazine, may well seem a misfit. It is essential, therefore, to fix the time of writing that the reader may see as from the writer's view-point.

If there were any longer any considerable doubt of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination at Chicago, it would be venturesome to write anything for publication a month hence under the caption of this article. The question every one is asking himself or his neighbor to-day is:

"What will Mr. Roosevelt's election mean to the business world? Will it mean greater general prosperity, or greater confusion and disturbance than we now have?"

This is exactly what every man wishes to know. It is with him, after all, a question of busy factories and bulging commerce rather than the election of any particular man to the presidency.

In the contest for delegates to the nominating convention in Chicago, most business and professional men throughout the country have opposed Mr. Roosevelt. Their opposition has been based on the fancy, or fear, that if again elected president he would not give us as safe an administration as Mr. Taft would. This is the very heart of the matter.

Such concern about Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward business, toward railroads, toward corporations, and industries generally, cannot be squared

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to a just and intelligent review of his former administration. Mr. Roosevelt is not an experiment. He has been many years in public life, during seven of which he was President of the United States.

The Charges Against Roosevelt

The chief charges against him have their origin in—
His fight against railroad methods that were archaic and dishonest.
His initiation of proceedings against trusts.

The Panic of 1907.

Wall Street was perfectly satisfied with the railroad situation, so far as concerned its freedom to run business in its own way and to keep accounts in its own way. Before Mr. Roosevelt's administration railroading was looked upon very much as a personal business—a business with which the man at the head of it, subject to his board of directors, had a right to do pretty much as he pleased. Railroading was an empire unto itself. Its freedom and tremendous power made for dramatic speculation and the highest kind of high finance. Something was happening, something doing in the railroad world, every day, that gave the Street a chill, or thrilled it with speculative intoxication.

Those were wonderful days in the arena of high financial tumbling, the like of which we shall never see again. The variegated pictures of delirium that were thrown upon the speculative screen almost from day to day were masterpieces of interwoven fact and fiction.

Mr. Roosevelt had no patience with the idea that a railroad was of the nature of a personal business, like a man's farm, for instance, or the shop of a small merchant, or a local trucking business, all of which do have, or can easily have, ample competition.

A railroad, as he saw it—and he saw it right—is a public-service concern, which must serve the public generally, and which exists by grace of the public. It is a private property in the sense of the actual dollars invested in it, but the property of the community in the bigger and broader sense—a dual property, which could not exist without the goodwill of the community, on the one hand, and the money put into it, on the other.

This was a conception that found no place in Wall Street and with railroad managements. It is not recorded that more than one railroad magnate openly said "the public be damned," but as acts sometimes speak louder than words, and more convincingly, it is obvious that this particular railroad president did not stand alone in his view of the relation between a railroad and the public.

Roosevelt's Railroad Regulation

So, when this man Roosevelt took it upon himself to bring sane business methods and regulation to the railroad world, to introduce a uniform system of bookkeeping, to cut out rebates, to regulate freight-rates, and to insist on reports that should show with reasonable accuracy

the financial condition of a railroad, all Wall Street and all the speculators rose up in their wrath and denounced him.

There was no precedent for all this, they cried. No president had hitherto taken it upon himself to meddle in railroad affairs in any such way, and had we not had a great and glorious list of presidents? This man Roosevelt was a usurper of the rights of the people, a dictator, a demagogue, playing to the mob.

From this time on Mr. Roosevelt's administration was a battle-ground. Lined up together against him were the interests, all big business, all the speculators, and the politicians.

Eight or ten years have elapsed since this effort at the regulation of railroads, and since this new doctrine of public service on the part of railroads was vitalized by Mr. Roosevelt. To-day, the reforms that he insisted upon have become ingrained into the very life of railroading, and have proved, for the most part, to be possessed of broad common sense and justice and fairness, both to the railroads themselves and to the community.

No first-rate railroad management would wish to go back to the old conditions of rate-cutting and indiscriminate rebates and idiosyncratic methods of accounting, neither would the legitimate bankers or the serious investors be willing to return to the uncertainties of the pre-Roosevelt period, so far as concerns the stability of the prices of securities.

The Northern Securities Victory

Mr. Roosevelt's courageous and masterful work in forcing through these reforms, and in awakening the public conscience to their righteoussness, showed great vision, great sense of justice, great statesmanship.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's most notable victories was his triumph in the Northern Securities case, compelling the dissolution of that enormous holding company, which, in the inception, was to control the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the C. B. and Q. But for the determined war Mr. Roosevelt waged on this holding corporation, a concern that had the backing of the most powerful financial forces of the country, we might to-day be practically without competition in our railroad systems.

Indeed, it is not reasonable to assume that the Northern Securities Company would have stopped with the roads with which it started. It would, perhaps, have gone on taking in other railway systems until it controlled all, or a large part, of the important railroads of the country.

It might have been this, or it might have been that one or two similar holding companies would have been established, resulting in throwing all our railroads into the hands of one, two, or three gigantic trusts, and leaving our people without competing railway systems, leaving our business interests without competing freight-rates.

After he had the railroad situation well in hand and it was in process of clarification, Mr. Roosevelt turned his attention to big business. He initiated prosecutions against the Standard Oil Company, the American

Tobacco Company, the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, and some others. He also began an investigation of the Sugar Trust's customs frauds.

These aggressive moves looking to the regulation of big business further embittered the money centers and speculative communities. Their antagonism had grown to such enormous proportions, and had so warped their judgment, that nothing Mr. Roosevelt did was right and everything he did was wrong. Oversensitive and hostile capital could see no good in him, and fought him relentlessly then, as it still does.

Mr. Roosevelt might have had a peaceful and colorless administration if he had chosen the easy path, but he elected, instead, to work for the good of the ninety millions, and to see, so far as in him lay, and so far as his official powers would permit, that every man, rich or poor, influential or otherwise, had the squarest kind of a deal.

This meant war on arrogant intrenched interests, and in this war he stood well-nigh alone, save for the support of the people themselves and of the more progressive minds in Congress.

The Panic of 1907

Then came the panic of 1907, which Wall Street and its allies charged entirely to Roosevelt. There never was a more mistaken conclusion than this. The panic was inevitable. It could not have been prevented. No human force could have prevented it. With speculation strained to the breaking-point, with business strained to the breaking-point, with capital strained to the breaking-point, something had to give way.

The panic was two years overdue when it came. It would have come quite as surely, whether Mr. Roosevelt or some one else had been in the White House, if the over-strained business conditions had been the same.

The fact is, we hadn't money enough to do the work we were doing, and to do the work we wanted to do. Every phase of industry was pushed to its utmost capacity. There had never been a period of equal activity, of equal expansion. All legitimate business was as optimistic, as reckless, heedless of danger as Wall Street and the speculative world generally.

Factories of every kind all over the land were running on full time, running overtime, running night and day, and couldn't keep up with their orders. Many new factories had been built, and others had been enlarged, or were in process of enlargement. The building trade was at high pressure. Sky-scrappers were going up everywhere, from one end of the country to the other, and sky-scrappers call for real money and lots of it.

Traffic was so heavy and business so enormous that the railroads were hopelessly inadequate to meet the demands upon them. They were literally groaning under the burdens of prosperity. They couldn't handle the business of the country. In the Dakotas, in the winter of 1906 and 1907, the people found themselves in danger of freezing to death for want of coal, which the railroads could not haul, congested as they were with the mountains of freight hauled at them. So great was this congestion

that many shopkeepers in the extreme Northwest did not get their Christmas goods until long after the holidays were over—not until late in January or February.

James J. Hill, the seer of the Western railroad world, about that time pointed out the critical dangers of the situation, and the hopeless incapacity of our transportation systems to keep pace with the growth of our industries and the output of our soil. He urged that money should be found somewhere with which to double both the trackage and the equipment of all our railroads. But where and how to raise this money was a problem that staggered him. It meant billions and billions of dollars.

And the farmers were no laggards in that period. They felt the spur of inflated prosperity, and let themselves go as the business world had let itself go in the matter of expansion, betterments, and expenditures.

Wages were going up everywhere, and as wages went up the prices of all commodities went up; rents increased, the value of farmlands increased, all realty increased, even as the price of stocks and bonds increased.

A Period of Too Much Prosperity

It was a period of intense speculation in securities, in real estate, in everything. Everybody was prosperity-mad, everybody talked of our boundless resources, of bigger and bigger and yet bigger prices for securities, and of bigger and bigger and yet bigger prices for everything. There was no pessimism anywhere, there was no note of the impending crash. There was no thought of the day of reckoning, no thought of the panic that was soon to fall so heavily upon the land.

Money in Wall Street had reached one hundred and twenty per cent on call—that is, money borrowed from day to day—and at other times forty, ninety, and one hundred per cent. With stocks all the while bounding upward, day after day marked higher and higher, what mattered it that money averaged to cost ten or twenty per cent? The thought of interest was petty and narrow, considered beside the glittering profits of the higher and always higher prices.

And time money—that is, money borrowed for a specified period, three months, four months, or six months—was very difficult to get and ranged at impossible rates.

In March, 1907, the first break came in the price of securities. That was, in fact, the beginning of the panic. With this break the European money-markets closed their doors to us. They were deaf to our demands for money, and turned their backs on our securities.

We were going at such a pace that we were compelled to have money. We couldn't stop in a minute, and there was no apparent way of gradually slowing down. No longer able to sell our securities in Europe, and with the tremendous volume of securities held in Europe and thrown back upon us, we were unable to stem the tide. Everybody was crying for money and willing to pay almost any price for it. Everybody had to have money to meet commitments, to finance industry and commerce and the business that still swept on in undiminished strides.

A Warning That Was Not Heeded

The spring crash in securities seemed not to affect general business at all. Wall Street was looked upon as a thing apart from the rest of the country, and business men saw nothing in what had happened there that meant a warning to them. In fact, business, which is never too friendly to Wall Street, felt no sense of depression at the curbing of speculation. It meant less demand for money from holders of securities, which foreshadowed more and easier money for business.

The crumbling and tumbling of prices in March was regarded by many in the Street as merely a temporary setback, and every effort was made to restore prices to the old sky-high figures.

But with occasional rallies, the sagging went on throughout the dreary months of summer. Everybody who had sufficient foresight reduced his holdings of securities, or got out of the market altogether if he could, but every share of stock that was sold was bought by somebody, and the purchaser soon found himself burdened with a declining security.

And so it went on until the great panic broke upon us in October. The first upheaval came in the Mercantile National Bank and the National Bank of North America, two institutions in the Morse chain of banks, where high finance had run riot. This was the beginning of Morse's troubles, which involved the Heinzes, the Thomases, and Barney, president of the Knickerbocker Trust Company.

Morse and his associates almost immediately resigned from these two banks, and from other institutions which they controlled, or with which they were prominently connected. Then came the announcement that Barney had been compelled to resign from the Knickerbocker Trust, and a little later the entire community was shocked and stunned by the news that he had committed suicide. The Knickerbocker was one of the leading trust companies of the city, and Barney was thought to be a genius in finance.

Thus the great panic started here in New York, and thus it spread from one institution to another, until it leaped the boundaries of the city and swept like a cyclone over the whole country.

Was Mr. Roosevelt Responsible?

Was Mr. Roosevelt responsible for this period of reckless speculation? Certainly not.

Was Mr. Roosevelt responsible for bidding prices of securities up to the breaking-point? Certainly not.

Was Mr. Roosevelt responsible for Morse and his chain of banks and his system of high finance? Certainly not.

Was Mr. Roosevelt responsible for Barney's reckless management of the Knickerbocker Trust Company, his dismissal from the company, and his suicide? Certainly not.

Was Mr. Roosevelt responsible for all the high finance of that period, for the over-extent in every branch of business, for the tremendous scale of building that had developed, for the artificial and sensational life

of the community, dazzled by the song of wealth and the scheme of money-getting? Certainly not.

And yet Wall Street and all those who think, or fancy they think, as Wall Street thinks charged it up to Roosevelt, and haven't yet got the idea out of their heads.

In one sense he was responsible—in the sense that under his administration this greatest record of business prosperity was reached. Nothing like it had ever been known before, and nothing like it has happened since. It was more than a mere speculative inflation. It was big, broad, genuine prosperity, all-round prosperity. And it was on this prosperity that speculation rested, this prosperity that made possible the figures to which our securities were marked up and the enormous volume of transactions in them.

It was a case of too much prosperity, dangerous prosperity, and without criticizable responsibility to any one. Man reflects in his acts and thoughts the period, the very moment of the period, and in these times of matchless optimism few men could see disaster ahead.

It is to Mr. Roosevelt's credit that this era of greatest prosperity was reached under his administration, and not to his discredit. What happened in 1907 will happen again under similar or approximately similar conditions—that is, when business and speculation and extravagance are pushed to the breaking-point. Money will stand a certain strain, no more.

In this view of Mr. Roosevelt as president, of his relation to the railroads, to big business, and to the great panic of 1907, is there anything, I submit, to justify the belief that he is a dangerous man to the business interests of the country, to the industries of the country?

He faced in his administration a condition that no longer exists, and he met it as a strong man meets difficult situations. We had gone just as far as we could under the old, go-as-you-please, capitalistic domination. The people were in revolt against it and would have no more of it. They demanded reforms, certain righteous reforms, and this demand reached a crisis during Mr. Roosevelt's incumbency of office.

He had to deal with a condition that had never before urgently confronted any administration since the formation of the government, and he handled it with great courage and striking ability.

If Mr. Roosevelt is elected this fall, he will enter upon his duties as president under entirely different conditions. The drastic work that fell to his hands to do, he did. There is no occasion for such drastic work now. Regulation, upbuilding, and the polishing off of the work of his former administration is, in part, the task that would confront him on March 4, 1913. His new work would be that of construction, not that of reconstruction.

Roosevelt's Record as President

What did Mr. Roosevelt do as president that he should not have done, in the public interest, that was dangerous and hurtful to business? Let us look at the facts, and base our conclusions on them—not on prejudice, not on vagaries.

Was Mr. Roosevelt's intervention in the coal strike, in a crisis such as existed at that time, justifiable or not? Wasn't it, to the very last note, in the interest of general business and the people as a whole, who had to have coal?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's action against the Northern Securities Company justifiable or not, and was it dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's Pure Food and Drugs Act justifiable, and was it dangerous and hurtful to legitimate business?

Were Mr. Roosevelt's efforts in keeping the door of China open to American commerce dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's masterful work in bringing about the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's Panama Canal project dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's movement for the conservation of our natural resources dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration of an annual conference of the governors of all our states dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration of a movement for the improvement of conditions of country life dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's act forbidding corporations to contribute to campaign funds dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's reduction of the interest-bearing debt by more than ninety million dollars dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's settlement of the Alaska boundary dispute dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's act calling for the extension of the forest reserves dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's National Irrigation Act dangerous and hurtful to business?

Was Mr. Roosevelt's act for the improvement of waterways and water-power sites dangerous and hurtful to business?

Were Mr. Roosevelt's Employers' Liability Act, Safety Appliance Act, and the regulation of railroad employees' hours of labor dangerous and hurtful to business?

If not these, and if not his stand against archaic and dishonest railroad methods and against trusts, what is there, may I ask, in his record as president, to justify the conclusion that he would be a dangerous man to the business interests of the country?

And here are some of his urgent recommendations which he did not have time to concrete into law before he left the White House:

The reform of the banking and currency system. Is there anything in this dangerous and hurtful to business?

An inheritance tax and an income tax. Is there anything in these that is dangerous and hurtful to business?

The passage of an employers' liability act to meet objections raised by the Supreme Court. Is there anything in this dangerous and hurtful to business?

A postal savings-bank act. Is there anything in this dangerous and hurtful to business?

A parcels-post act. Is there anything dangerous and hurtful to business in this?

A recommendation for an anti-trust act that will make clear what a business man can and cannot do lawfully. Is there anything in this dangerous and hurtful to business? Wouldn't something of the sort clarify the situation and be a great deal better for business than the present indefinite, uncertain Sherman Law?

Legislation to prevent overcapitalization, stock-watering, and so forth, of common carriers. Is there anything dangerous and hurtful to business in this?

Legislation compelling incorporation under federal laws of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. Is there anything dangerous and hurtful to business in this?

Changed Conditions of To-Day

To get an idea of what Mr. Roosevelt would mean to the business world if elected again, it is well first to get a clear idea of what his former presidency meant to the business world. It does not follow, however, that his new administration would be like his former. The conditions would not be the same, neither would Mr. Roosevelt himself be the same. He is four years older, and with increasing years come increasing consideration, increasing conservatism, greater poise, and greater deliberation.

These are bad when the man starts with an inefficient horse-power, with more balance than energy, with more caution than aggressiveness. But in a man like Roosevelt, who is supercharged with energy, whose horse-power is twenty times greater than that of the normal man, the ripening process of experience that comes with added years, if not too many, means increased wisdom and increased usefulness.

A man must be true to himself. He cannot be aggressive on the one hand and judicial and inert on the other. Roosevelt does things, is the embodiment of action and energy. And in his aggressiveness he not infrequently expresses himself in a way that pictures him as more radical than he is in fact—more radical than he ever is in his administrative acts. In all that he does, and in the outworking of his ideas, he is much the greatest and soundest conservative of all the big progressives of the country. And eighty per cent of our people are to-day progressives—a force to be reckoned with.

A Post That Calls For a Strong Man

Our system of government, with a nation grown so big, calls for a man in the White House of the greatest measure of executive and administrative qualities. No man can make a dent in that situation unless he be specially endowed with these abilities from God Almighty.

Executive and administrative genius are just as distinct gifts as music and art and song. The orator and the poet and the logician of renown

are born orator, poet, and logician. They can't be made on this earth. No university has ever yet made one, and no university ever will make one.

In Germany, when a city wants a mayor, it searches the country over for a mayor, searches for the man highly endowed with the qualifications for executive work, supplemented by training and experience. Local pride and politics cut no figure in choosing a mayor in wisely governed Germany.

We should do well in this country, when we want a president or governor or mayor, to follow the German custom and go after the man fitted for the job.

The business of the country is now in much closer relation to the government than ever before. Indeed, it is so much under the control of the government that the latter, in a way, has the dominating voice in the board of directors of our railroads and all our great corporations.

We cannot go back to the old system of individual ownership, with its unstable prices, unwise competition, and greater cost and greater waste. We must so do business that the cost will be at the lowest possible figure, and then, as a government, we must see that the people benefit by this lowest cost. This is the governmental control we must have; a wise, just, helpful control—helpful alike to our industries and to our people.

Business to-day is unsettled, halting, and timid. It doesn't know what it can do or what it can't do.

We have the natural resources, we have the people of brains and energy and courage, and we have the money with which to resume the leading place among the nations as an industrial and commercial country. All we need to bring this about is a wise policy on the part of the government—a policy that will not seek to strangle business, but to help business, and in helping business to help the money-earner and the consumer, to help all the people, of whatever calling and of whatever position.

Our Need of First-Rate Leadership

To bring order out of the present chaotic governmental methods will require a very strong man as the leader and general manager of the country's business. I don't believe we can reasonably hope for anything from Washington of at all a satisfactory nature unless we have such a man—a man who can command results, a man who knows what we want and will see that we get it.

Is there in the whole country another man who so measures up to this requirement as Theodore Roosevelt? If there be, I do not know who it is.

When we had a little bit of a republic, with small industries and narrow vision, our scheme of government made it possible to get on after a fashion with an indifferent man in the White House. But with so big a nation as we have now, and with all the local interests of the country clamoring for part of the "swag," it is well-nigh impossible to get through Congress the unselfish, patriotic legislation that we need, except we have in the White House a man who commands results. And such an executive is likewise essential to the efficient handling of the official departments, which need first-rate leadership quite as much as does big business.

Photo by Moffett Studio

"U
the center of the group is Mrs. Will A. Davis, the "W. W. W." of the Rep. Convention, who turned the minute her resolution
for Hadley into a Roosevelt uproar.



THE OKLAHOMA DELEGATES



Photo by The International News Service

William Flinn
Of Pennsylvania



Charles S. Deneen
Governor of Illinois



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Albert J. Beveridge
Ex-Senator from Indiana



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James R. Garfield
Ex-Secretary of the Interior

PROMINENT ROOSEVELT SUPPORTERS IN THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Wall Street has bitterly criticized Mr. Roosevelt for his mistakes—Wall Street, which itself, mind you, holds the record for mistakes. In discussing Mr. Roosevelt's mistakes, it discreetly says nothing about his successes. There is a lot of hypocrisy, a lot of dishonesty, in all this.

As for myself, let me say I am glad that Mr. Roosevelt is human enough, big enough, to make mistakes. If he were not, he wouldn't be good for anything. The man who makes no mistakes never accomplishes anything really worth while. To get an accurate measurement of a man—to know his real worth—we must compare his good work with his bad, his successes with his failures. If the average shows strongly in his favor, he is the man for the job; if the average is against him, he isn't the man for the job.

Roosevelt's mistakes as president were trivial as compared with his brilliant and far-reaching achievements. Roosevelt's mistakes as president were relatively fewer, I should say, than the mistakes of any one of our great captains of industry—fewer than those of Morgan, Rockefeller, Carnegie, Jim Hill, or any other man whose financial undertakings span the world. They all make mistakes, both in utterance and acts. If they were to try to square themselves to a policy of no mistakes, their usefulness as great leaders in the business world would be at an end.

Far better the mistakes of progress than the inertia of the sure thing.

That Mr. Roosevelt, if elected, will restore confidence to the business world, I am certain. That he will point the way to reawakened commerce and become the leader of revivified prosperity, I am equally certain.

CHAPTER XII

Recall of Judicial Decisions

By HERBERT S. HADLEY
Governor of Missouri

WOULD STRENGTHEN THE JUDICIARY—A CHANGE OF METHOD, NOT OF PRINCIPLE—PRESENT METHODS CUMBERSOME—FETTERED BY ANTI-QUATED TECHNICALITIES—THE PEOPLE'S WILL SHOULD PREVAIL

What of the argument that the election of Theodore Roosevelt would destroy the independence of the judiciary, and in this way shake the very foundation of our representative form of government? I do not believe that any honest citizen, whatever may be his politics or his personal interest, can read the great speech of Theodore Roosevelt delivered in Carnegie Hall on the night of March 20th, and not believe that our government, with all its cherished institutions, would be absolutely safe in his hands. If I thought the election of Theodore Roosevelt to the office of president would mean the destruction, or even the impairment, of the independence of our judiciary, I would regard such a result as a public calamity. But I believe, in fact, I know, that no such result would follow. Persistent and widespread efforts have been made to misrepresent his position upon this question, and arouse serious concern in the minds of well-meaning people as to the result which would follow the adoption of the policy for which he contends.

Would Strengthen the Judiciary

A consideration of what he really said, and not what interested newspapers or politicians say he said, is sufficient to satisfy any fair-minded man that that for which he contends would strengthen, rather than impair, the independence of the judiciary as one of the departments of our state and national governments. He has declared time and time again that he is opposed to the recall of the judge. He has been unwilling to deny that there might exist extreme conditions in which, as a last resort, he would support such a measure. He declared it was a method each state had a right to have, but that it was one that it was not necessary generally to adopt. And he has stated that he would make unnecessary such an extreme and doubtful method of removing the unfit or the dishonest judge by a policy which would more certainly secure for the American people laws which they believed necessary for the protection of their

rights and the promotion of their happiness and their welfare. He has expressly declared that he would make the decisions of the courts in ordinary, private litigation, as well as public prosecutions, absolutely conclusive, and would oppose the suggestion of any method which would make such decisions subject to popular approval. But he had declared, and in that position I believe a majority of the American people will soon see, if they do not now see, the wisdom of his declaration, that when the people of any state have enacted a law affecting social, economic or industrial conditions of the people as a whole, no court should be permitted to set up, as against that judgment, its opinion that such measures were inadvisable, and thus secure the permanent defeat of such a law.

A Change of Method, Not of Principle

Is this position a correct one, or is it wrong? Is it in harmony with the best principles and policies of government, or does it work to the impairment, if not to the overthrow, of republican institutions? Since the very beginning of our government the people have had the right to recall or to overrule an adverse decision of a court upon measures such as this either through an amendment to the constitution or an act of the legislature.

When Chief Justice Marshall decided, in the case of *Chisholm vs. Georgia*, that the state of Georgia was subject to suit by a private individual, the people of Georgia recalled that decision by the eleventh amendment to the federal constitution, providing that the jurisdiction of the United States courts should not extend to any suit in law or in equity against any of the states. When in 1861, the federal judges, sympathizing with secession, enjoined the collection of the internal revenue tax, the Congress of the United States, by an act consisting of two lines, prohibited any United States court or judge from enjoining any officer of the United States from collecting its revenues, and thus this unpatriotic decision was recalled.

Present Methods Cumbrous

In our own state and in every state in the federal union, when courts have rendered decisions which were not in accord with the wishes of the people, they have either through amendments to their constitutions or through acts of their legislatures, recalled them. But the methods now available are so cumbersome that such decisions oftentimes defeat the wishes of the people and result in a permanent denial of that which the people want and need. Thus, for instance, if the people of the state of Missouri should provide, as did the people of New York, by a legislative enactment, that those injured in industrial occupations should be compensated upon a basis other than that of negligence, the constitutionality of such a measure would doubtless be contested here, as it was in New York, for the reason that it did not give to those affected by such a bill due process of law secured by the Constitution, as this expression

was understood and applied in the fourth year of the reign of James II. And it is not improbable that the Supreme Court of this state, as did the Supreme Court of New York, might sustain that contention.

Fettered By Antiquated Technicalities

What an answer such a decision would be to a man with mangled limb, or widowed mother or the orphan children to say to them when they ask for compensation for the loss of life or of limb, that the law under which they might secure it was not in accord with the due process of law which obtained in the fourth year of the reign of James II. It is true that under our present system the people of Missouri could, at the next election, start all over again by securing the submission of an amendment to the constitution authorizing such a law, and then they could go again to the next legislature and ask the next legislature to re-enact the same law. And the same law would again go to the Supreme Court for decision. Is it necessary that we should adhere to such a solemn and cumbersome ceremonial in dealing with a great social problem such as this?

When the people of England passed a law providing for the compensation of workmen injured in industrial occupations on a basis other than that of negligence, it became the law of England, and every court was bound to follow it. When they pass a law regulating the conditions under which people live, providing for the care of the sick or the pensioning of the old or the unfortunate, it is the law of the land, and no court can deny it to them. The same is true in France, in Germany and Switzerland. It is also true with our Canadian neighbors, not only as citizens of Canada, but as citizens of the various provinces. Are rights of property or of person less secure there than here?

The People's Will Should Prevail

Why should not such a rule, in effect, obtain here. The American people are the best educated, the best clothed, the best fed and the best housed of any people of the world. They have the greatest wealth per capita; they have a larger number of churches and school houses, and they have greater individual ability and initiative. Why should we, of all the people of the civilized world, be the one people who are not competent to pass laws regulating our social, economic and industrial conditions, unless such measures have received the approval of certain "high priests" of our official system whom we ourselves have elected to the office of judge? I say to you, not only as a public official and a citizen, but as a member of the legal profession who regards with due reverence all its cherished traditions and institutions, that in such a proposition as Theodore Roosevelt has advocated in this particular I see nothing that would impair the independence of our judiciary, and I see much that would strengthen it as one of the co-ordinate departments of our system and form of government.

CHAPTER XIII

Fallacies of the Recall

By LEE CRUCE
Governor of Oklahoma

FOSTERS MINORITY RULE AND OFFICIAL COWARDICE—MULTIPLIES ELECTIONS
—NOT A DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE

I am decidedly opposed, not only to the recall of judges, but to the recall of executive and legislative officials as well. The recall is opposed to our ideas of government as practised for the last hundred and thirty-five years. It is as impossible to have a government entirely removed from its representative features, as it is to conduct the affairs of a great corporation, with its stockholders numbering thousands of people scattered over the United States, without a board of directors, and a centralized management.

The theory of the recall is a beautiful one and appeals forcibly to the idealist and the unthinking person; but, like most theories born of an imaginative mind, it fails to take into consideration the imperfections, inequalities and limitations of the human family. It is fashioned upon the idea that all men are honest and will do what is right in government. This is not true of this generation; has been true of no generation in the history of the past, and will likely not be true for many generations yet to come. The recall may be made to work with some degree of success and advantage in small communities, but I don't believe it will ever be made to work successfully in the large cities; it is thoroughly impracticable in state affairs, and wholly impossible in national affairs.

Fosters Minority Rule and Official Cowardice

I am opposed to the recall for the reason that it puts the administration of government into the hands of the minority, rather than the majority. The man who has been elected to office can usually with certainty count upon his friends upholding his hands, and excusing his mistakes, if he makes any, and it is only the minority who opposed his election in the first instance who are seeking an opportunity for his undoing in the way of the recall, and who would be constantly on the alert for an excuse to invoke the same. Realizing this and desiring to avoid the unpleasantness and the possible disgrace of the recall, the average official

would be constantly trying to administer affairs under his charge in a way to please these dissatisfied citizens, who, as stated, are in the minority, to the consequent neglect and hurt of the majority.

I am opposed to it for the further reason that it will make still greater cowards of public officials. The demand of the American people at this time is for courageous public servants who are willing to face adverse criticism in their efforts to serve the masses. Too many of our public officials spend their time in an effort to placate their enemies and strengthen themselves in a political way, rather than in the performance of their duties.

Multiplies Elections

I believe that the recall would have a tendency to still further weaken the interest that the average man takes in the election of public officials. It is a lamentable fact that, at the present time, not one man in ten knows anything about all of the men for whom he votes. If the recall was in effect he would excuse himself still further from finding out anything of the character of the man aspiring to office, and would satisfy his conscience with the unction that "if I make a mistake and elect an incompetent or dishonest official to-day, I can recall him to-morrow." Again, I am opposed to the recall for the reason that it would necessitate more elections than we have now, thereby keeping state affairs in an unsettled condition to the great detriment of the people.

I believe there is as much reason for invoking the recall of judges as there is for executive or legislative officials. To me the three branches of government are of equal importance, and each should stand upon a plain as high as the other. There is no reason why we should place our judicial officials upon a pedestal, above that of the legislative or executive officials. It should be the aim of every sworn official, no matter in what department he may serve, to discharge his duties honestly and fearlessly, and no man who is unwilling to do this has any right to hold any office, legislative, judicial or executive.

Not a Democratic Doctrine

In conclusion, I am a Democrat, thoroughly fixed in my political principles and ideas; I believe the doctrines taught by the founders of my party are correct, and, when put into operation in governmental affairs, will bring the greatest good to the greatest number of people. The recall is at war with every true Democratic doctrine; is Socialistic and revolutionary in its tendency, and its present seeming popularity can only be accounted for by the fact that the whole world, business and political, seems to be in a state of unrest and agitation. When the storm of political unrest and discussion has passed away, and calm and sober judgment returns, the recall will be looked upon as one of the impossible phases of government which the quacks in state affairs are prodigal in proposing.

CHAPTER XIV

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall

By JOHN F. SHAFROTH
Governor of Colorado

CHANGED CONDITIONS DEMAND NEW METHODS—THE INITIATIVE—THE REFERENDUM—THE RECALL—THE RECALL IN PRACTICE—INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN EIGHT STATES—DIRECT LEGISLATION IN CITIES

There can be no doubt that at the present time there is something very seriously wrong as to the manner in which our legislative bodies are constituted. There is a powerful influence which seems to be exerted upon legislators and members of city councils after election, which makes them ignore the principles to which they have pledged themselves, and induces them to vote against those measures which have a tendency to place the government nearer to the people. It is this condition of affairs which has caused the citizens to believe that many of the men delegated with power to enact laws or ordinances are often improperly influenced to cast their votes against measures which are in the interest of the people. It may not come in the form of a bribe in money, or a position with a salary, but in the form of some advantage to be derived by such votes.

Changed Conditions Demand New Methods

In the early history of our republic, when combinations of capital were not thought of, those who represented the people could be relied upon to enact measures in the interest of the people, but when tremendous capitalization became interested in enormous enterprise, the influence of the officers and agents of such corporations, by reason of the ramifications of their industries in all communities, produce such powerful influence that their active opposition to measures in legislature or city council almost insured the defeat of the same. During the sessions of a legislature the lobbyists of these corporations swarm the corridors and committee rooms of the capitols, exerting all their powers, sometimes by bribery, sometimes by threats, and sometimes by legitimate argument, urging the defeat of such measures. No matter what may be the causes it is certain that a most appalling condition exists in most of the states in the Union with respect to the passage of measures in behalf of the masses.

Representative government is good only when it represents the will of the people, but when it represents those who seek special privileges or advantages, it is time some measures should be enacted to compel legislators and members of city councils to respond to the will of those who elected them to office.

The three most important measures that have been devised by man up to the present time to compel true, representative government in states and cities are the initiative, referendum and recall. The principles upon which they are founded are those which find expression in the Declaration of Independence in the statement that "just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed."

The Initiative

The initiative law is that which gives to the people the right by petition to compel legislatures and councils to pass laws and ordinances in accordance with the will of the people in the exact terms prescribed in the petition, and to have such laws and ordinances become effective by virtue of a vote of the majority of the citizens.

Under our form of government all laws are supposed to represent the will of the majority; then by what line of reasoning can people object to the will of that majority being expressed directly by the people who constitute that majority? True representative government does not exist at the present time, because the legislator votes on so many measures that it is almost impossible to turn him down at the election on one vote that he may cast. The obnoxious law still remains, and hence it is an exceedingly indirect way of getting at the true voice of the people. The law of initiative removes the temptation of the legislator to vote against the will of the people because it removes the interest of those seeking special privileges, or the defeat of such a measure in his vote. The great corporate interests are not going to spend money in endeavoring to get legislators, or members of city councils, to vote against measures desired by the people when they know that the people can, at their own initiative, present for passage before the voters of a city or state, the same measures. The only resort of such interests then will be in the attempt to bribe the people, and they will find that it is impossible to bribe the majority of a city or state. Even if they could bribe the majority of the voters of an entire city or state, they would find that it would be too expensive and consequently could not be undertaken.

Under the initiative the appeal in behalf of measures must be to the reason and not to selfish motives, and hence is a great educator of the people. Experience demonstrates that they do vote on measures submitted, and that they vote intelligently upon the same.

The Referendum

The referendum is a measure by which the people may oppose laws which the legislative bodies enact. It provides that upon the petition of a certain number of citizens any law or ordinance enacted may be

suspended in its operation until the people shall take a vote upon whether the same shall become operative. The petition to refer the law or ordinance to the people must be filed within thirty days and be signed by at least 5 per cent of the people voting at the last preceding election and if submitted at a special election, the petition must contain the names of 15 per cent of those voting at such preceding election.

Every little while we find that a legislature, or a city council, has passed a measure which is outrageous in its provision, and a gross injustice to the people. When such a thing occurs, people denounce it, cry out against the shame, and sometimes threaten with the halter the men who are guilty of the betrayal of the public trust. But those can do no good under our present system. The law still remains; the summary execution of the guilty party would be a criminal act in itself and should not be tolerated, but the guilty parties are permitted to remain in office, wielding such powers as they may possess by virtue of their positions, in influencing the voters to maintain them or their party in office. By the time the next election comes around many other issues have grown up and it becomes almost impossible to concentrate the odium of the passage of such outrageous measures upon the candidates responsible therefor.

Under the referendum the people have a right to petition before a law or ordinance goes into effect, to determine the question as to whether the measure is good or bad. And when it is determined by the votes of the people, fairly expressed, it is always recognized as the will of the majority, and therefore properly the law. Under the initiative and referendum the legislator no longer becomes the important personage upon whose vote mighty questions are determined, and consequently the great corporate interests no longer, by direction or indirection, seek to influence his vote. The mighty power then is transferred to the people and the great interests must present measures that the people believe are right, in order to get them ratified by the referendum.

The Recall

The recall is a measure which gives to the people the right to recall an officer of a state or city, when that officer has committed a crime or violated the trust reposed in him by the people. Every railroad company, manufacturer, banker or other employer of men retains the power to recall any employee at any time. In private affairs it would be intolerable not to have that power of recall at all times. If an officer violates his trust, why should he be not recalled? And is not then, when he has committed the act, the very time when it should be tested by a vote of the people? Is it proper to wait for a year or two until the next general election and then see whether or not he is entitled to endorsement or condemnation? What right has a man, elected to a position, to longer represent the people when he has violated the trust reposed in him? According to the present system, if an officer of the state or county or city betrays the trust reposed in him, he still is entitled to retain his office until the criminal law, with all its delays and technical advantages, con-

victs him of the crime, or the civil court, with all its opportunities for delay and appeal, ousts the man from office. Should men who violate the law be permitted to retain office until the end of their term? Is it not right that the people should pass upon the question as to whether he has violated his trust of office and remove him by a vote of the majority?

The Recall in Practice

The city of Los Angeles, California, adopted the recall in 1902. It has exercised its power under that law but twice. Once was the recall of an alderman from a ward, who entered into a conspiracy with a newspaper to boom him for a higher office, and as a means to that end awarded that paper a printing contract at a price of \$25,000 higher than the lowest bid received. The second was the recall of a mayor, whose outrageous immoral conduct was such as to disgust the entire community and to make it offensive to them for him to be the chief executive of that city. To have a vote taken by a city at large once in eight years, and in that time in a ward but once, shows the fallacy of the statement that we would have frequent elections.

The power for good that exists in the law for recall is not in the exercise of it, but in the knowledge upon the part of the official that when he commits an outrageous act, or when he betrays the trust which has been reposed in him, the people may exercise that power. And that is so great that the mere knowledge of that fact makes him faithful in his duties as an officer of the state, county or city.

The enactment of the three laws, the initiative, referendum and recall, will place in the hands of the people the tools by which they can compel the enactment of all good laws, laws which the masses of the people favor. Under them outrageous laws cannot be enacted, and corrupt and untrustworthy officials, when found out, cannot longer represent a good constituency.

Initiative and Referendum in Three States

“Government of the people, for the people, and by the people” is in my judgment the most important question of the age. The people are indignant against the repeated and flagrant violation by men who pledge reform, and then, after election, repudiate and violate their solemn obligations. The people are indignant against legislators, and members of city councils, who are continually thwarting the will of the people and voting against wholesale legislation at the instance of gigantic corporations of the states and cities. The battle cry of the rule of the people is spreading throughout the entire land without regard to political affiliation. States are carrying the initiative and referendum by overwhelming majorities. Oregon adopted the measure by a vote of 62,024 in favor of to 5,668 against. Staid old Maine cast 51,591 votes in favor of to 23,712 votes against them. Old conservative Missouri carried the initiative and referendum by a majority of over 23,000. South Dakota, Utah, Nevada, Montana and Oklahoma have each adopted the initiative and referendum, by a vote of about three to one. Even in Illinois, where

they have what is called "The Public Opinion Law," which is simply advisory to the legislature, a vote at the state election in 1902 upon the popular petition for a local referendum law resulted in a vote in favor of the same of 390,970 to 83,377, a vote of four to one. A second vote, taken at the general election of November 8, 1904, on a similar question of establishing a local 5 per cent people's vote, resulted in the overwhelming vote in its favor of 535,501 to 95,420, over five to one. And yet, notwithstanding those strong advisory votes in the state of Illinois, the legislature (which is now being investigated for having accepted bribes for the election of a United States senator, and for the division of a money pool put up by corporations for the influencing of members as to their votes on general legislation,) has refused to put before the people the measures which such enormous majorities demand. If the vote of the people of Illinois could be expressed, after the exposure of the corruption in that legislature, I have no doubt the initiative and referendum would be carried by a vote as large as that at which it was carried in Oregon, eleven to one.

Direct Legislation in Cities

The initiative and referendum laws have been adopted in many cities in the Union by overwhelming majorities. They were adopted in Los Angeles by a vote of 12,105 to 1,955, or a vote of 6 to 1. These Los Angeles provisions as to the initiative and referendum, and also as to the recall, are almost identical with those which are at issue in this campaign. There it takes only 5 per cent of the vote cast at the preceding election to have an initiative vote upon a measure at a general election, and 15 per cent to have a vote at a special election. There also the requirement for a recall is a petition of 25 per cent of the voters at the last preceding general election.

The movement in California, which was started by Los Angeles' adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall, has been followed in that state by the cities of Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, Pasadena, Eureka, Santa Monica, Alameda, Santa Cruz, Long Beach, Riverside, Santa Barbara, Palo Alto, Richmond and Berkeley.

Under the law of 1909, passed by the state of Kansas, giving cities that desired it the right of the initiative and referendum, there has been a large number of cities which have availed themselves of this privilege. Now the right to direct legislation exists in that state in the cities of Leavenworth, Anthony, Independence, Hutchison, Wichita, Kansas City, Coffeyville, Topeka and Parsons.

Haverhill and Gloucester, Mass.; Kansas City, Mo.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Portland, Ore., Seattle, Spokane and Tacoma; Lewiston, Idaho, and Buffalo, N. Y., together with many other cities, now have the initiative and referendum. It is no longer an experiment. The wholesome legislation passed by the cities which first adopted these measures is extending now to all of the cities of the Union. In my judgment the highest considerations of good government demand the general adoption of these measures.

CHAPTER XV

Objections to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall

By HENRY CABOT LODGE

United States Senator from Massachusetts

DO NOT EXPRESS WILL OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE—HISTORICAL FAILURES—
DEMORALIZING USE OF MONEY IN POLITICS—DEPRIVE LEGISLATORS
OF RESPONSIBILITY—REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT COINCIDENT WITH
POLITICAL LIBERTY—INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY

In discussing a subject so momentous as the principles of government it is of great importance to determine at the outset exactly what we mean by the terms we use. Nothing is more dangerous, when we are trying through inquiry to arrive at direct results, than to be the slaves of words or phrases. We all believe in liberty, for instance, and desire to promote it, but explanatory words are needed for the liberty we mean, and the only liberty worth having is an ordered freedom and not the license which knows no law. The word "progress" has been much used of late in public discussion, but mere progress is not necessarily good. Everything depends on the direction in which the progress is made. We speak, for example, of the progress of a disease, which is a most undesirable progress either in a human being or in a body politic. Progress is our aim and purpose only when it means an advance from bad to good, from good to better, or from better to best. The word "people," again, in connection with the constitutional changes which have been advocated for the last few years, is also used in a misleading manner. The "people" referred to in the Constitution means all the people of the United States. "People" as referred to in popular discussion by those who favor radical alterations in our Constitution invariably means a majority of the voters, which is a totally different thing from the people. It is quite true that the voters are the channel through which we necessarily obtain an expression of the popular will, but a majority of the voters are not necessarily the people and do not at all times represent the real wishes of the people.

Do Not Express Will of the Whole People

The majority of those who vote on any given question may be a very narrow one. It may be a very ephemeral one. The majority of one year

may be the minority of the next, and yet you will observe that in all the practical arrangements for the compulsory initiative and referendum and for the recall of judges the people who can compel the initiative and who in practice carry the referendum, the number who can force a recall and who, in its practical operation, may be able to carry it, are but a small minority of the voters. To start the initiative or the recall, in all the provisions that I have seen, only a minority, sometimes a very small percentage, of those who voted at the last election is required. When the act asked for has been adopted by the legislature and referred, it appears, if experience is of any value, that a large proportion of the voters express no opinion, either from indifference or from not comprehending the question, while the small and interested minority take pains to vote for the law, the submission of which to the voters has been compelled by their original action. The result is that laws are placed upon the statute book without any sufficient evidence that they are there—I will not say by the will of the people, but even by the will of the majority of the registered voters.

Historical Failures

The propositions now offered for changing our system of government and our constitution are all very old. Legislation by direct popular vote was familiar to the Athenians and you have but to read "The Republic" and the "Laws" of Plato and the "Politics" of Aristotle to find out that there are scarcely any ideas in regard to government which were not developed and discussed by the Greeks, men of perhaps the highest intelligence which the world has ever seen. In the same way, legislation by direct popular vote coupled with the veto of the tribunes of the people, was practiced in Rome and the outcome is familiar to all the world. The result was the despotism of the Cæsars. The one great contribution of modern times to the science of government has been the representative system. Representative government, in other words, stood for a great advance over the democratic systems of Greece and Rome and of the medieval Italian cities. I am not now concerned to show from history which system was the more successful. I merely desire at this point to call your attention to the fact that, while it might be better or worse to adopt legislation by direct vote as a substitute for representative government, there can be no question whatever that to abandon representative government and take up in its place legislation by direct vote is to return from a high stage of evolution to a lower and more primitive one.

There is therefore nothing new in these propositions as to legislation by direct vote, and if we examine the scheme for the recall of judges we shall see that there is nothing novel in that idea either, for not only has control of the courts by the sovereign authority been familiar at all stages of history, but the actual practice of judicial recall was attempted in France during the Revolution of 1848. The provisional government made the judges removable at pleasure, and if you will take the trouble to read the manifestoes issued by Ledru-Rollin you will see how he asks the voters to let him know if any judge does not behave in accordance

with their wishes, so that he may remove the peccant magistrate, and he further calls attention to the facts that the judges are on the bench simply to do the popular will. They had also, at the time of that Revolution in 1848, not only this control of the judges under the provisional government, but also the "mandat imperatif" and government workshops. The result of those experiments in France was the plebiscite and the Third Napoleon. Representative government and liberty faded away together and the executive became all powerful.

Demoralizing Use of Money in Politics

Let us first consider the compulsory initiative and referendum in their practical working. One of the great arguments used by the advocates of these changes in our constitution is that by obtaining the direct action of the voters we shall be free from the demoralizing influence and from the control of money in politics and in our legislatures. In the alterations, so generally made of late in our election laws in order to compel nominations to be made in popular primaries, we have an opportunity to test the claim which has been advanced in favor of these reforms, that we should thereby rid ourselves of the influence of money. The method of choosing executive officers or members of the legislature is an alteration only in the mechanism of government, although I personally think that many of these changes are and have proved to be injurious and not beneficial. But none the less these primary systems afford us, as I have just said, an excellent opportunity of testing the question of the use of money under a system of direct popular action. I have always believed theoretically that the more elections and elective offices were multiplied, and the more elaborate the machinery for selecting and electing candidates, the larger the field for professional politicians and for the employment of money to control election results. The evidence afforded by the primary system in actual operation seems to confirm this theory. In the contest which has arisen over the seat of Senator Stephenson, of Wisconsin, where the primary system is in full operation, some interesting facts have been brought out. It appears that in 1909, at the time when Senator Stephenson was nominated in the primaries, the expenditure at the primary election by all candidates, exclusive of the amounts spent by the senatorial candidates, is conservatively estimated on the returns required by law at \$610,174, and if the amount expended by all the senatorial candidates be added the total amount spent in those primary elections comes to \$802,659, while the total vote, Republican and Democratic, was 230,291. In other words, it cost \$3.48 per vote to get that number of voters to the polls, and I believe that I am right in saying that only about one-half of the Republican vote was actually polled. Nothing in the past under the old convention system has equaled this appalling expenditure at the primaries in a single year and in a single state. From this evidence of the primaries, what reason have we to hope that money will not play an enormous part in securing the initiation, the reference, and the adoption of any adroitly drawn laws which the great money interests may happen to desire?

Deprive Legislators of Responsibility

The practical workings of the compulsory initiative and the compulsory referendum need not detain us long, for the effect of those devices is obvious enough. The entire virtue or the entire vice—each of us may use the word he prefers—of these schemes rests in the word “compulsory.” The initiative without compulsion is complete in the right of petition secured by the first of the first ten amendments to the constitution, which really constituted a bill of rights. The right of petition became the subject of bitter controversy at a later time and was vindicated once for all by John Quincy Adams’ great battle in its behalf, more than three-quarters of a century ago. There are few instances where petitions representing a genuine popular demand have not met a response in action, whether in congress or in the state legislatures; still fewer where respectful attention and consideration have not been accorded to them. But the responsibility for action and the form such action should take has rested with the representative body. When the initiative is made compulsory a radical change is effected. The representative no longer seeks to represent the whole people or even his own constituency, but simply votes to refer everything to the voters, and covers himself completely by pointing to the compulsory referendum. On the other hand, the voters are called upon to legislate. Of the mass of measures submitted they know and can know nothing. Experience shows that in all referendums a large proportion of the voters decline to vote. Whether this is due to indifference or to lack of information the result is the same. It proves that this system demands from the voters what the most intelligent voters in the world are unable to give. They are required to pass upon laws, many of which they have neither time nor opportunity to understand, without deliberation and without any discussion except what they can gather from the campaign orator, who is, as a rule, interested in other matters, or from an occasional article in a newspaper. They can not alter or amend. They must vote categorically “yes” or “no”. The majority either fails to vote, and the small and interested minority carries its measure, or the majority, in disgust, votes down all measures submitted, good and bad alike, because they do not understand them and will not vote without knowing what their votes mean.

Representative Government Coincident with Political Liberty

It is also to be remembered that the representative principle has been coincident with political liberty. Whatever its shortcomings or defects, and, like all things human, it has its grave defects, it none the less remains true that the first care of every “strong man,” every “savior of society,” every “man on horseback,” of every autocrat, is either to paralyze or to destroy the representative principle. It may be that the representative principle is not the cause of political liberty, but there can be no question whatever that the two have always gone hand in hand and that the destruction of one has been the signal for the downfall of the other.

Independence of the Judiciary

The framers of the Constitution placed their courts as far as they could on the great heights of justice, above the gusts of popular passion. They guarded them in every possible way. They knew that judges were human and therefore fallible. They knew that the courts would move more slowly than popular opinion or than Congress, but they felt equally sure that they would in the end follow that public opinion which was at once settled and well considered. All this they did because all history and especially the history and tradition of their own race taught them that the strongest bulwark of individual freedom and of human rights was to be found ultimately in an independent court, the corner stone of all liberty. Their ancestors had saved the judges from the Crown. They would not retrace their steps and make them subject to the anger or the whim of anyone else.

The problem which they then solved has in no wise changed. The independence of the judiciary is as vital to free institutions now as then. The system which our forefathers adopted has worked admirably and has commanded the applause of their children and of foreign nations, who Bacon tells us are a present posterity. Now it is proposed to tear this all down and to replace the decisions of the court with the judgment of the market place. If I may borrow a phrase from the brilliant speech made recently by Mr. Littleton in the House, it is intended to substitute "government by tumult for government by law."

In the long course of the centuries during which western civilization has been developed it has proved again and again that whatever its defects there is nothing so essential, so vital to human rights and human liberty, as an independent court. Beware how you break down that principle because courts here and there have erred. Hard cases make the worst laws and bad laws are the breeders of anarchy and disorder. We must proceed, if we would proceed with safety and lasting results, on general principles; and if history proves anything it proves that the greatest safeguard of human rights in the long run is to be found in independent courts which can be swayed neither by the whisper of the bribe giver, by the clamor of the mob, by the command of the autocrat, or by the dark threats of secret organizations.



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THE ROOSEVELT GOVERNORS

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THE ROOSEVELT GOVERNORS AND CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Three of the famous "Seven Governors" who called on Theodore Roosevelt to run again for the Presidency and the Senator who managed his campaign.

CHAPTER XVI

Dangers of the Initiative and Referendum

By EMMET O'NEAL
Governor of Alabama

THE CHECKS AND BALANCES OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT—THE TEST OF EXPERIENCE—EVILS OF HASTY LAW MAKING—WHAT HISTORY TEACHES US—PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT EVILS—THE PROPER REMEDY.

Any constitutional provision which weakens or impairs the power and efficiency of either of the three co-ordinate departments of government must necessarily weaken and impair the efficiency and harmonious action of the whole. Each acts as check upon the other, and if the power and vigor of any department be impaired or overthrown, it necessarily unduly increases the power of the others, thus destroying that harmonious system of checks and balances which is the distinguishing feature of our constitutional system. Wise and just legislation cannot be the product of haste, passion or immature judgment. To overcome the evil effects of sudden and strong excitement and of precipitate measures, springing from caprice, prejudice, personal influence and selfish interests, the representative system was established. That deliberation, investigation and judicial consideration which is essential to the enactment of wise laws is secured by those provisions found in every state constitution, which in mandatory terms requires each bill to be submitted not alone to one deliberative body but in turn to each of two, and to be considered by each on three separate days.

The Checks and Balances of Representative Government

The division, therefore, of the legislative department into two separate and independent branches, constitutes one of the most important features of our system of government. One is generally composed of men who by reason of their short terms and frequent elections, are always fresh from the body of the people and are readily responsive to every pressure of public opinion. The period of their delegated authority is too brief for their independent judgment to overcome their susceptibility to the popular will. The members of the other body, selected by a larger constituency, representing more varied interests and further removed by

their longer terms from the passions or follies of the hour, may justly be expected to exercise with courage, independence and judgment, a corrective influence upon legislation born of demagogical prejudice, inspired by unwise or visionary political theorists, or based upon some Utopian dream. The tendency of the one is to impulsive action, and of the other to conservatism; and out of this contest of opposing forces and this clash of conflicting thought illuminated by debate and informed by investigation, comes of necessity laws, into the construction of which there enters not only the will of the people, but those elements of moderation, justice and wisdom, and that due regard for the rights of the minority, which are inseparable from wise and just legislation.

Yet we are asked, through the system of the initiative and referendum, to abandon every safeguard with which experience and wisdom have surrounded the making of our laws. We are invited to substitute for those representative bodies—whose members through the usually required qualifications of a fixed period of residence and the attainment of a certain age, are presumed to have some familiarity with the spirit of our institutions, and to have reached maturity of judgment, and to possess at least average ability and character,—the system of direct legislation by the whole body of the people, including the criminal, the adolescent, the indifferent and the retainers of special interests.

The Test of Experience

We do not betray distrust of the people by heeding the unequivocal language of experience, and by refusing to exchange for that deliberation, independence and conservatism which comes from subjecting every law to the critical revision of two legislative chambers, and by which unwise and dangerous measures are less apt to proceed to the solemnities of law, the independent, unrestricted action of the numerical majority.

Through the operation of the initiative a further and more potent check on intemperate legislation is removed by eliminating the power of the executive to amend or veto any measure enacted by direct vote of the people. Through the power to propose or veto legislation, conferred by the express terms of almost every American constitution, the executive is made a part of the law-making department and placed on guard to protect the interests of the people against the enactment or evil effects of unjust, unwise or vicious legislation. Yet, under the system of the initiative, both the executive and legislative departments are shorn of their constitutional powers. Initiated and enacted by direct vote of the people, however unwise a law may be, however much it may destroy the rights of property, invade constitutional guarantees or impair personal liberty, the executive is powerless to intervene to protect the people against the blow which from the folly or madness of the hour, they might aim at themselves. The only recourse would be the courts, which, where the system of recall prevails, destroying judicial independence, would be more apt to register popular opinion than to enunciate decisions based upon well-settled principles of law.

It is established by the experience of every section that until abuses become intolerable the demands of personal affairs are too absorbing and the burdens of that public duty which citizenship imposes upon the individual are too heavy or exacting to permit more than a mere perfunctory interest in public matters. In my judgment, therefore, the efficient cause for the larger part of our political ills and of the misgovernment that we may endure, or the treason that may develop in legislative bodies, lies in the indifference of the people themselves and not in their failure to directly participate in the making of the laws.

Evils of Hasty Law Making

It seems to be assumed that under the system of the initiative only those laws would be proposed which a legislature under the control or domination of special or selfish interests would refuse to pass, and that all such rejected laws would be in the interest of the people. I cannot bring myself to the adoption of this pleasing thought. I fear that with the advent of this political millennium there will still remain, here and there, some unregenerated interests, some seeker for special privilege, whose desires, in imitation of the practices that prevailed in the older days, could still be concealed under the guise of some fair-seeming bill. It would be everybody's business to act as a committee to examine it, to expose its fallacies or to warn the public against its insidious purposes. The necessary results would be that nobody would give it careful scrutiny. It would not be subject to such amendment as wisdom or experience might suggest. It must be accepted or rejected in the exact form and terms in which it is proposed. It would not even be read aloud once in the presence of all whose duty it would be to vote upon it, and it might become a law by the vote of a single individual who had never read it until he cast his ballot.

With the initiative in operation, it would be the sheerest folly to suppose that the number of laws would come within the compass of the ordinary man's serious and considerate examination, and in the consideration of matters which furnish opportunity for demagogical appeals and class or racial prejudice, the very purpose for which government exists would often be defeated, and the rights of a helpless minority no longer protected by the safeguards now secured by every American constitution would be ruthlessly sacrificed.

As a corollary to the initiative, the referendum is proposed to complete the wreck of representative government, and as a fitting device to securely accomplish the atrophy of the legislative functions and to reduce legislatures from co-ordinate departments of government to a body of mere clerks engaged in performing ministerial duties. When legislatures are compelled to submit their work to the approval of the electorate, there would no longer rest on the electors the duty of selecting men of character and capacity to represent them; nor will the members of such bodies feel the weight of that responsibility which ought to follow public office. That the character of legislation produced by such a body would lack both wisdom, strength and vigor seems too evident to discuss.

It is no argument in favor of the referendum to say that it is the course followed with reference to constitutions. A constitutional convention is under no necessity to submit the product of its labors to the people for ratification. While it usually does so as a matter of choice, in doing so from its own free will it takes more pride in presenting to the people work well done, and is wholly lacking in that sense of inferiority which under a compulsory submission can but result in indifferent service.

What History Teaches Us

We would ignore the unmistakable teaching of history if we failed to recognize that every nation which has achieved political and orderly liberty has done so through the representative system and that every government which has abandoned it for the despotism of a monarchy, or for the turbulence, tyranny or uncertainty of an unlimited democracy, has fallen into decay and suffered the loss of its animating and sustaining principle. England's parliament has never yielded its prerogative nor have her people ever established a commune. When the first gleam of political and civil liberty that ever lightened the darkness in which the Russian peasant moved, made its appearance, it was contemporaneous with the establishment of a Duma.

Unless this political heresy be checked the hosts of socialism, reinforced by selfish and time-serving politicians and recruited by all the elements of discontent, will soon direct their attacks against the federal government itself and gradually sap and undermine the foundations of our free institutions.

Public Indifference Responsible for Present Evils

It is claimed by the advocates of the initiative that that system is necessary because representatives in the legislature can not be elected who are possessed of that capacity and fidelity to duty which fits them to properly perform the high functions of their great office. Such a position, it occurs to me, not only plainly evidences a distrust of the people, but is based on the assumption that the people are incapable of self-government. If it be true that the people are so sunk in abject subservience to political bosses, so tied to the wheels of the political machines, that unworthy legislators can alone be elected, where would be the limitation on the power of those bosses or of that political machine to force through the same electorate the passage of any laws that their selfish interests might dictate when every safeguard which now surrounds their enactment is removed?

Members of the legislatures of the different states are the agents and direct representatives of the people, and if it be true that as a whole they are incompetent, unworthy and corrupt, it would follow necessarily that the masses of the people from whom they spring and from whom they are selected were also either corrupt or criminally indifferent to their interests or liberties. They possess the same characteristics as the people from

whom they have come, and if after repeated trials and selections, the community cannot secure an intelligent and honest man to represent it, I would not like to live under laws initiated or adopted by the sovereignty of that people.

It is a sound governmental principle that political power should always be accompanied with responsibility located and identified. Where responsibility cannot be placed it does not exist, and an irresponsible power in government inevitably leads to oppression or the loss of liberty. That this responsibility shall not be evaded under our representative system of government, the constitution of every state requires that the legislative record shall disclose the presence or the absence of each legislator, his vote and his position on every bill. Where in the system of the initiative would this sobering knowledge of responsibility rest? What right would one citizen have to call another to account? Each would represent only himself, and with the utter lack of responsibility on the part of the law-making body arbitrary and irresponsible power would be enthroned and the reign of anarchy commence.

The Proper Remedy

We may be impatient with our state legislatures, but the remedy is not to sap or weaken their powers but to elevate their tone and standard, to re-organize them along simpler lines and to make them the real organs of public opinion, checking the evil effects of hasty and ill-considered legislation, and giving expression to the cool, deliberate and mature judgment of the people.

Much has been heard in late years of big business. The biggest business conducted in this country is that involved in the government of the various states. Is it not wise to apply sound business principles in administering the affairs of these great public organizations? What would be the fate of any of the great private corporations, if their directors elected by the stockholders, representing and legislating for them and responsible to them, were discharged and the whole mass of stockholders as a body, some wise, some foolish, some mere children, many entirely ignorant of business principles, few moved by the common good, most animated by the desire to secure personal gain, should undertake to direct their policies? In the management of the corporation good government with the highest returns and best results, is the object sought to be achieved. There can be no difference in kind, in the principles applicable to each, and experimental policies, dangerous in their tendencies, ought to be carefully avoided in the one as in the other.

I am deeply impressed with the conviction that the adoption of these proposed changes would so fundamentally change the entire structure of our political system as to amount to revolution and destroy the whole theory upon which our government rests and upon which the permanence and vitality of our institutions depend.

CHAPTER XVII

Popular Election of United States Senators

By JOSEPH L. BRISTOW
United States Senator from Kansas

PRESIDENT, IN FACT, ELECTED BY DIRECT VOTE; WHY NOT SENATORS?—
CORRUPTION FRUITAGE OF PRESENT SYSTEM—MARVELOUS CHANGES IN
CONDITIONS—COMBINATIONS OF WEALTH USE POWER TO ENRICH THEM-
SELVES—GIVE THE PEOPLE MORE POWER—HAVE FAITH IN THE PEOPLE.

Stripped of every subterfuge, the burden of all the opposition to this proposition is that the American people as a whole are not capable of wisely selecting the men who shall represent them in the upper branch of the national legislature, that the people as a whole have not that calm temperament and intelligent judgment necessary to enable them wisely to select their senators.

President, in Fact, Elected by Direct Vote; Why not Senators?

As to that, I take sharp and decisive issue. It was the opinion of many of the Revolutionary Fathers that the people could not safely be trusted to elect by a direct vote members of both branches of the Congress and the president. The result was provision for the election of members of the House of Representatives by a direct vote, the Senate by the various state legislatures, and an electoral college composed of distinguished citizens chosen by the people of the various states was created, and upon this college was placed the responsibility of electing our presidents. This body of distinguished men was to stand between the president and the direct expression of the popular will. Every man must admit that this plan for the election of president was a failure. It has been nullified by the evolution of our political institutions. The people to-day, in fact, elect their president by a direct vote. If asked to name the electors for whom he voted in the last presidential election, there is not one voter in a thousand, in the majority of the states, who could name them; but 999 voters out of every 1,000 could name, without hesitation, the man for whom they voted for president. No one would presume to declare that if the electors chosen at the presidential elections had assembled in conventions and chosen our presidents as it was originally intended that they should do, that we would have secured better men for that great office than those who have held it.

The intrigue and corruption that would have developed in such conventions is beyond our comprehension and, in my judgment, before this would have threatened the life of the republic. The people, however, by a gradual evolution have nullified this provision of the Constitution.

Now, on a given day, quietly and without excitement, millions of American citizens choose their executive ruler for a period of four years, by what is in fact a direct vote, and the decision of the majority is accepted without protest by the entire population. The quiet and orderly way by which the people of this mighty nation with its widely extended territory exalt one of their number into, and depose another from, the most powerful political position among men, is the greatest tribute that could be offered to the patriotism and stability of character of the American citizen. If the people are capable of electing their presidents by direct vote, as in fact they do, are they not capable of electing their senators? Is that task more perplexing? Are the qualifications necessary for senators more difficult for the average citizen to comprehend? This, certainly, no one will claim, yet every argument that has been offered against this resolution can lead to no other conclusion.

Corruption Fruitage of Present System

Delays in election, deadlocks, and loss of representation by the states frequently occur. During the last 20 years there have been 14 vacancies in the Senate, some of them covering a period of several years, because of the failure of legislatures to elect. Frequently shocking scandal and flagrant bribery are the fruitage of these controversies. Corruption and bribery in senatorial elections have become more prevalent as the commercial interests of the country have grown. During the last 40 years the Senate has had under consideration 15 cases where corruption was charged in the election of senators, while during the preceding 84 years of our history there had been but one such case. This plainly demonstrates that the system adopted by the framers of the Constitution worked well until radical changes occurred in our industrial and commercial life, but that under present conditions it is breaking down and corruption is growing. I do not claim that the election of senators by a popular vote will wholly eliminate corruption and dishonesty from such election, but I do maintain that it will reduce it to a minimum. The great power of the position, the dignity of the high office, and the wide influence that a senator may acquire make a seat in this body exceedingly attractive to men of public spirit and ambition. The power and character of the office are such as to make it a possible source of great value to those connected with large commercial and industrial concerns. The result is that men are frequently elected to seats here not because of their great learning or distinction in the public service, but because of their connection with certain financial, industrial, or commercial concerns that seek to profit by the legislation of Congress. Under these conditions it is but natural that seats in this body should be sought with great eagerness and that the present system by which a few men are able to determine who shall have such seats

should produce corruption. That this corruption is increasing as the commercial spirit of the nation grows, no man can deny. I state, therefore, without hesitation, that the integrity of our political institutions demands a change in the method of electing senators.

Marvelous Changes in Conditions

We are warned not to depart from the wisdom of the fathers by changing the manner of choosing the members of this body. Such an argument in the light of modern development is without weight. The conditions that exist in the United States to-day are vastly different from those that prevailed when the Constitution was framed. In 1790 there were but 75 post offices in the United States, or one post office for every 52,000 people, while to-day we have in round numbers 60,000 post offices, or one post office for every 1,500 people. Then there was no free delivery in either city or country. There was not a single letter carrier on the continent; now there are 1,500 cities with free delivery, and over 28,000 city letter carriers deliver the mails to the homes of our urban population, and there are more than 40,000 rural carriers traveling a million miles a day delivering letters, newspapers, and periodicals to the rural population. Then the postage on a four-page letter from Washington to Boston was \$1; now you can send that same letter from Porto Rico to Manila, over 12,000 miles, more than half way around the globe, for 2 cents. At that time there were but 103 newspapers and periodicals published in the United States, and the circulation of none of them exceeded a thousand copies. The average circulation was less than 500, and there was but one publication for every 38,000 people. Now there are 22,600 newspapers and periodicals, with an average circulation of more than 6,000. Then there was published but one copy of a newspaper or periodical per week for each fifty of our population; now there are four copies per day for every family. Such a state of society as we now enjoy was not within the wildest dreams of the most ardent enthusiasts among the founders of the republic. Yet we are told that to change the details or the manner of electing senators is to reflect upon the wisdom of the forefathers. Without reflecting in the slightest degree upon the ability of the members of Congress in any other age of our country's history, I assert that the average American citizen to-day has a better education, is more thoroughly informed on public questions, has a keener sense of the responsibilities of citizenship, and is better equipped to pass judgment as to the wisdom of governmental policies than was the average member of the House of Representatives a century ago. Then a college graduate in a community was a rare and distinguished individual. There were but few of them among our people. Now they are to be found by the dozen in almost every township. Our colleges and academies to-day are not only equipping men for the professions, but are preparing them by the thousands for the responsibilities of citizenship. This the conditions of the times demand. Some contend that the same method of selecting senators that was thought wise and desirable then should be continued now.

For the first half century of our history the greed of commercialism, except as it related to the slavery question, was not developed; now it is a menace to the country's welfare. As the commercial spirit developed and opportunities increased to use the power of government to promote the selfish interests of financial and industrial institutions, such concerns became more anxious to control the Senate. This has brought about the numerous legislative scandals that have occurred in recent years, and such scandal not only will continue but will increase until there is a change in the method of electing senators.

Combinations of Wealth Use Power to Enrich Themselves

Great combinations of wealth, under the system that now prevails, have acquired too much power in the affairs of this government, and they have used that power to enrich themselves at the expense of the general public. Unless a change is made, not only in the method of electing senators, but also in the manner of selecting delegates to the national conventions, the rising tide of unrest and dissatisfaction that prevails throughout the country to-day will rapidly increase. Men will not become less greedy for wealth and power. The great financial interests will not abate their efforts to control, not only the business, but the politics of the country.

I believe we are approaching a crisis, not only in our commercial and industrial life, but in our political affairs as well. The development of modern times has made it necessary to place more power directly into the hands of the people, that they may not only protect the man of small business from the greed of his great and powerful competitor, but that they may also protect the integrity of our political institutions.

We are warned by those who oppose this change in the manner of electing senators that it will make them responsible to the will of the mob, and, therefore, subservient to the passion and prejudice of the unthinking masses; that by such a change we will endanger the perpetuity of our institutions. I do not believe it. I am not afraid of the mob. The American people are not controlled by passion or prejudice. They are conservative and cautious; do not welcome change, and cling to precedent. You place in their hands great power, and they will exercise it with deliberation and care.

Give the People More Power

Give the people greater power and more direct responsibility for the administration of the government, and you bring to its institutions the most careful thought and patriotic consideration of the great masses of our population. General Grant has been credited with the statement that all the people know more than any one man. This I believe can be broadened into a declaration that all the people know more than any set of men. The marvelous and unprecedented progress of modern times in every branch of human industry and every line of mental effort has been pos-

sible only because the intellect of the race had been unshackled and the mental energies of the entire population brought into action. This government of ours will be better administered and more wisely governed by inviting every citizen to give his best thought to the solution of its problems. Place greater responsibility for its administration upon the average man, and it will develop in him the highest degree of patriotism. It will place upon him that deep sense of responsibility that goes with ownership. He will feel more that this is his government, and that he is responsible for the welfare of its institutions. Instead of endangering such institutions it will be their greatest safety. It will intrench them in the affections of an intelligent, patriotic, and devoted citizenship.

The menace to our country's future is not in the mad fury and passion of the unthinking mob. The mob has no influence with the American mind. It is repulsive to that sense of stability and order which is fundamental in the Anglo-Saxon's nature. Our menace is not the mob, but the greed and avarice of men who seek to control legislation for personal gain. Resentment against the injustice and tyranny of the trusts and the combinations of modern commercial life is far more dangerous to the welfare of this republic than the action of an unthinking or turbulent spirit.

Have Faith in the People

Every great revolution among the nations of the earth has been the fruit of unrestrained greed and avarice. It was the greed and avarice of the barons that drove Cromwell into rebellion. The injustice and cruelty of the wealthy classes of France brought on the terrible revolution that devastated the most highly cultivated nation among men. It was the greed and avarice of the slave owner that brought on the war of the rebellion. No! our menace is not the mob, but the insatiable greed of modern times for commercial and financial power; and to correct the evils that grow out of this condition we must place more responsibility upon the average citizen, put greater power into his hands, and hold him responsible for the proper exercise of that authority. I believe in the American people. I have confidence in their intelligence. I have faith in their sense of justice, and believe that the institutions of our country are safe in their hands.

CHAPTER XVIII

Objections to the Direct Election of Senators

By ELIHU ROOT
United States Senator from New York

DEMAND IS FOR THE CURE OF CERTAIN EVILS—THE DEADLOCK EVIL AND ITS REMEDY—CORRUPT OR INEFFICIENT LEGISLATURES, AND THE REMEDY—PERFORMANCE OF PUBLIC DUTY THE REAL REMEDY.

There has been but little attempt to assign reasons for the proposed change in the election of senators. It has been left in the main to rest upon the proposition that the people of the country desire it; that there have been resolutions adopted by many legislatures; that planks have been put in many political platforms; and that as a whole the people of the country wish for the change.

Demand Is for the Cure of Certain Evils

I am convinced that the desire of the people for this change, if there be a desire, is not a very active and violent feeling. It is a rather mild assent to a proposition which is suggested to them as an appropriate remedy for certain ascertained and recognized evils. There is, we all know, a general tendency in all democracies to favor propositions which look to the extension of power at the polls. Extension of suffrage, extension of the direct power of the voters at the polls, naturally receive assent at first blush.

There is another tendency which is natural and in which we all share, and that is that when an evil is recognized, and some one suggests that such and such a provision of law will cure the evil, our interest is attracted and our support is conciliated for the proposed measure.

I submit that what the people of the country really want is to have certain evils which they recognize in the present election of senators cured, and that they are quite indifferent about this change except as it is certified to them to be a sure cure for the evils. Whether it will be a cure or not has been little discussed and little considered by the people of the United States.

The evil which the people of the country wish to see cured consists of certain patent defects in the working of the system of election of senators by the state legislatures.

The Deadlock Evil, and Its Remedy

The first of those is a defect in the execution of the law which requires them to select. It is the deadlock that exists so frequently. The inexplicable delay of the legislature of Montana to return the senator from Montana, Mr. Carter, the obstinacy of all branches of the Democratic party in the legislature of New York, the reluctance of the legislature of Iowa to follow any of its great and gifted leaders—all these cause dissatisfaction on the part of the people, and, I believe, constitute the chief reason for the assent of the people to propositions to change the manner of election.

But these deadlocks can be ended forever on any day by Congress through a simple amendment of the statute of 1866. For the deadlocks arise from the fact that our statute requires a majority vote, and everywhere among people of independence and individuality it is a difficult thing to secure a majority vote.

If we chose to-day to amend our statute so that the legislatures of these states could elect by a plurality, they would elect to-morrow. If we chose to say that in any legislature where a majority vote should not be obtained within thirty days of the beginning of the Congress in which the successful candidate was to take his seat, there should be an election by plurality, in every one there would be an election the day after the period expired. And what is more, there would be majorities obtained in order to avoid those elections by pluralities.

But we have not chosen to do it. We have fallen upon times when it seems as if not the last thing, but the first thing, that is to be done to cure an evil is to amend the constitution of the United States. This very joint resolution proposing to amend the constitution of the United States will force us to abandon the majority rule and to entrust the election of senators to a plurality, for never can the Senate of the United States maintain a working force if a majority vote is required for the election of senators by the people of the several states.

I appeal to a universal recognition of the fact that it will not be practicable to have senators elected under a requirement of a majority vote in case this amendment to the constitution is adopted. In every close state the outlying parties, the irreconcilables, not occasionally or accidentally, but as a rule, poll more votes than the difference between the two great parties, and that means that, as a rule, in the close states of the union no one is elected by a majority vote.

So we are proposing to cure this evil by an amendment of the constitution which lands us in the same position as to the rule of majority or plurality that we would reach if we cured it as we can cure it absolutely by amendment of our statute.

Corrupt or Inefficient Legislatures, and the Remedy

But there is another reason why the people are dissatisfied with the discharge of the functions of our state legislatures. From time to time there are rumors, suspicions, and occasionally proofs of corrupt conduct

on the part of state legislatures, and from time to time a belief that state legislatures have been influenced by personal considerations or controlled by extra-official influences in the performance of their duty.

We are too apt in having our attention fixed upon the exceptional to forget the usual. It is true that what have long been known in the Senate as forbidden and abhorrent forces do sometimes affect the election of a senator, but it is only occasional, and the great body of the members of the Senate are, and always have been, elected as the free and intelligent judgment of their state legislatures dictate.

There is no claim that I have heard, certainly there has been no ground suggested to sustain a claim, that an honest and intelligent legislature, fairly canvassing the abilities and the character of the men who can best serve their country as senators for their states, can not make as good a choice, if not a better choice, than the electorate at large.

There has been no claim, or certainly no ground stated to sustain a claim, that the wise men who framed our constitution were mistaken in their belief that wise and intelligent and faithful state legislatures would make the best possible choice for senators of the United States.

No; the real ground is that, arguing from these exceptional and occasional cases, the people of the United States have been led to believe that the legislatures of their states are unfaithful to their trust in making their selections, and that they will continue unfaithful.

What is the remedy the people of the United States should seek, if this be true? Are they to abandon the performance of their duty in the election of their state legislatures? Are they to abandon the system, rather than reform the system? This whole proposition rests upon the postulate of the incapacity of the people of the United States to elect honest and faithful legislatures.

But if the people of our states are to abandon the attempt and be faithless to the duty to elect honest and faithful legislatures, what becomes of the governments of our states? In this highly developed interdependent condition day by day we grow to rely more and more on the government that is regulating all the agencies that are necessary to our lives. What government shall perform that function? If the state government is abandoned, if we recognize the fact that we can not have honest legislatures, the tide that now sets toward the federal government will swell in volume and in power. Here is a power that can answer the demands of life.

Let me tell the gentlemen who are solicitous for the preservation of the sovereignty of their states that there is but one way in which they can preserve that sovereignty, and that is by repudiating absolutely and forever the fundamental doctrine upon which this resolution proceeds. Let them invoke the patriotism of their people to make the government of their states worthy of the great duties that rest upon them and competent to preserve the autonomy of their states against that incursion of federal power which is being continually urged, urged, urged by those who fail to find satisfaction from the governments of the states.

What is to become of the state legislatures if we adopt the direct

election of senators? If you rob them of power, of dignity, of consequence, what will be the personnel of the state legislatures? We have had illustrations. The boards of aldermen in some of our American cities, originally bodies of high consideration, filled by citizens of consequence and of high standing among their fellows, have dwindled and sunk to insignificance and worthlessness, as power after power has been taken away from them. Once begin the progress in that direction by taking the first step based upon the principle of this proposal and you will find the members of our state legislatures growing less and less competent, less and less worthy of trust, and less and less efficient in the performance of their duties.

You can never develop competent and trusted bodies of public servants by expressing distrust of them, by taking power away from them, by holding them up to the world as being unworthy of confidence. Honest men, good men, self-respecting men, men, whose standing in their community makes it desirable for the public service that they shall go into our state legislatures, will never subject themselves to be ranked in bodies suspected and discredited and deprived of power.

Performance of Civil Duties the Real Remedy

The true remedy for the evils that we see is not to abandon our duty, but to perform it. There is no weaker course for men to take than to endeavor to make up for the failure to do their duty by changing the form of the duty. This is a proposition that the people of the several states who have stayed away from the polls, who have been deaf to the considerations of public interest, who have allowed personal favoritism to supplant their desire to select the best public servants, who have been bought to cast their franchises, as the people of Adams County, Ohio, were bought, instead of curing themselves and performing their duty in the election of their state legislatures, shall try another way to select senators of the United States. It is a proposition that the people who can not elect honest men from their own neighbors can elect honest men to the Senate of the United States.

What vote ever cast by an American citizen can be cast with a stronger probability that it is well informed than a vote for a member of his legislature? He is a neighbor; he is a man whom he has known all his life; he knows all about him. How can the men who are unable or unwilling to perform the duty of making a selection of an honest and faithful legislator from their own vicinage improve upon their performance in the selection of a candidate in a state-wide election of candidates whom most of them know very little or nothing about, except what they get from the newspapers?

Apart from that, it is never possible to cure neglect of duty by changing the form. There is but one safety for a popular government. No matter what constitutions you have or what statutes you enact, sooner or later you come to the polls; and if you do not have virtue and public spirit there, your government goes down.

The pathway lies clear before the people of the United States under the constitution. If they will do their duty, the constitution needs no

amendment. If they do not do their duty, you can amend the constitution a thousand times without any utility. The truth ought to be told; men should be found with the courage to say to the people: "The trouble in the election of senators of the United States is not in the constitution; it is with you; it is because you are not doing your duty." If there be no voice found in this land with authority and power to reach the minds of our people with such a message, then we are caucusing over idle words when we talk of an amendment to the constitution.

It is unnecessary to demand or to provide for a reform in the constitution of the Senate upon the theory that the existing system has failed. I grant you that occasionally bad men are sent to the Senate; occasionally a man is sent here who would not have been chosen by a fair and honest choice of the people of his state; but they find their level and they find it in innocuous insignificance here. I undertake to say and to maintain that never in this world has any institution of government wrought out more successful results than the provision of the American Constitution for the selection of senators of the United States. Exercising a power more varied than any other deliberative body in the world; sharing in the legislative and executive and judicial functions; with control over the laws providing for the raising and the expenditure of revenue, through its constitutional power of amendment; with control over the appointments to offices by the necessity for its confirmation; with control over foreign affairs, through the necessity of its consent to the ratification of treaties; with the function, that highest of all judicial functions, constituting it the court for the trial of impeachments, after a century and a quarter of life, I declare that the Senate of the United States has performed its duty loyally, faithfully, and competently, and has furnished to the history of its country a line of illustrious names and a record of great achievement which furnish one of the most convincing proofs the world has yet had that popular government through representative institutions is a possibility among men.

CHAPTER XIX

Tariff-Making

Common Sense Vs. Haphazard Methods

By WILLIAM H. TAFT
President of the United States

VALUE OF THE TARIFF BOARD—WHAT THE TARIFF BOARD HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED—THE BOARD'S REPORT ON WOOL—SCIENTIFIC DEMONSTRATION OF FACTS—ASSISTANCE TO THE PRODUCER—BENEFITS THE WORKINGMAN—EVILS OF THE OLD METHOD.

I do not wish to see the tariff question made the mere football of politics. We have had too much of that already. But I should like to have the people of the United States pass their deliberate judgment on the issue as it has been made up within the last year—the difference between the common-sense way and the haphazard way of making a tariff law. I am a believer in the Republican policy of protection. I want to see it continued; but I also want to see our party strengthen it by giving it an underpinning which cannot be swept away by the first passing flood of popular sentiment.

This purpose could be accomplished, first, by fixing the rates at figures not dictated by a group of domestic producers for their own enrichment, and granted in exchange for party support, but based on the difference between the cost of production here and the cost of production abroad, ascertained by means which preclude all doubt of the substantial accuracy of the calculation.

Second, by establishing on a permanent foundation the machinery for collecting the data of cost, so that it can be in continuous operation and its work ever more and more easily done. This machinery should be in charge of a Tariff Commission or Board, corresponding in a general way with the non-partisan Tariff Board we now have.

I do not know where you would find a similar body less partisan. Reynolds is a Republican of long standing, and Page and Howard are Democrats. Emery is—perhaps we had better class him as an Independent: that is, his vote is not determined by any party name or traditional affiliation. Sanders would, I fancy, commonly be called a Republican, but he's a good deal like Emery. Certainly none of us knew, when these two were appointed, to which party they belonged. In the hands of a quintet thus made up there is no danger that facts or statistics will be pulled

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PRESIDENT LAFTON MANAGERS IN CONFERENCE

The telephone at the right is a direct line to the White House. Photographed June 11, 1912.





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THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WHICH MADE UP THE TEMPORARY ROLL OF THE CONVENTION

out of shape to fit any political dogma or promote the success of any party or the fortunes of any candidate. This is the sort of Board I want to see made one of the permanent institutions of government.

Value of the Tariff Board

A good many persons evidently think that the whole purpose of a Tariff Board is to collect material for a single tariff bill or series of bills; and, not unnaturally, those who wish to see the government economically administered question the wisdom of spending so much money and employing so many experts for the preparation of the tariff legislation of 1912, in view of the possibility that all this work may be torn up and done over as soon as a new set of hands take charge of our public affairs. Now, it is just such a contingency that the Tariff Board is designed to avoid. The collection of data to guide this year's legislation is only a first step. From now on, if Congress consents to prolong its existence, the Board will continue collecting data through the channels it has already opened, and with the aid of men trained in their duties. With these it will keep its work always abreast of the times, so that the manufacturer of tinware, for instance, can find out, whenever he wishes to, precisely what the present status of his industry is all over the world, and govern his new ventures thereby; the importer of crockery can obtain the same sort of help in his trade; the American workingman can compare the changes in his own wage-scales with the corresponding changes abroad; committees of Congress having to deal with measures which touch such questions will have an official and non-partisan, instead of an unofficial and self-interested, source to draw upon for particulars; the officers who administer our customs can profit likewise. In fact, the information gathered by the Board, encyclopædic in scope, brought down to the latest development, methodical in arrangement, easy of access, will be of value to more interests and in more ways than I could attempt to enumerate here.

What the Tariff Board Has Already Accomplished

Some of the opponents of the Tariff Board complain of the amount of time it has taken for this work. That complaint is of a piece with the rest: those who are honest in making it must be in ignorance of what the Board has really been doing. The law authorizing me to "employ such persons as may be required" to assist me in adjusting our maximum and minimum tariff rates against other countries went into effect in August, 1909. I appointed the Tariff Board at once, and from then till the end of March, 1910, it was continuously busy with investigations, conferences with the officers of our State Department and the foreign Legations in Washington, and the like, getting this matter straightened out. Of course every foreign country was anxious not to lose the advantage of our minimum rates; but to this end it has to convince us that it was not discriminating in any way, direct or indirect, against American products, or, if it had been discriminating, to make concessions which would set it right. It was in

this line that the Board, through its familiarity with the tariff systems of other countries and with the devices sometimes adopted to disguise a hostile policy, did splendid service. Why, the money it has saved to American producers by its co-operation with the Department of State would alone, unquestionably, pay its expenses and a great deal more.

The Board's Report on Wool

Its first reports on Canadian reciprocity and the pulp and news-print paper industry have received the highest commendation at home and abroad. An officer of the Austrian Ministry of Commerce is on record as saying of the paper report that he knows of no European publication which so correctly interprets the most important features of the question of commercial policy, and that it is evident that our Board will soon leave all the European governments far behind in this class of official reports. The Board's great feat, however, up to the present date, is its report on wool and manufactures of wool, issued last December, in four volumes, dealing with the production and shrinkage of raw wool, the costs of manufacturing tops, yarns, cloths, and clothing, wages and efficiency of labor and machinery in the United States, and kindred topics. The information here presented has been obtained at first hand, not from a few interested parties who volunteered it, but from personal observation, inspection of herds and mills, and examination of accounts by the Board and its experts both in all parts of our country and in the countries from which we import wool and woolen goods most largely. Although the figures furnished came under the seal of confidence a record is kept in the private archives of the Board showing from what source every item was obtained, so that there would have been no difficulty in checking up any error which might have crept into the calculations, and enabling any contributor of data to satisfy himself that the Board has him down correctly.

Scientific Demonstration of Facts

So extensive is the scope of this inquiry that the mills whose books have been examined represent two-thirds of the productive capacity of the United States, and nearly two-thirds of the employees. The Board has made a very careful study of compensatory duties, meaning those specific rates laid on foreign goods to compensate the American manufacturer for his losses in paying duties on unscoured foreign wools. Indirectly, you know, the compensatory duties are a charge on the pocket of the consumer, so it is important that they should be no heavier than required to afford a fair protection. It is a pretty complicated subject at best; but the deductions of the Board are so logical and expressed so clearly that any citizen who is interested enough to read the report, although he may have no previous acquaintance with the wool industry, can get a very fair idea of its relation to the tariff. And naturally, every man who wears a coat would like to know whether or not he had to pay too much for it.

Assistance to the Producer

The producers themselves seem highly pleased with the work of the Board. You see, many of our American manufacturers have grown up in the business and are accustomed to old ways of keeping their accounts. They have been too busy running their mills and drumming up trade to pay very much attention to the sort of details which in these extremely modern times have come to take the place of first importance. Then, too, they have learned most that they know from their individual experience; but the Tariff Board, by collecting data concerning the whole of a trade, enables every member of that trade to compare what he is doing with what his contemporaries are doing in the same field. As their private affairs are kept as secret as his, he cannot identify any of them; but when he finds that he is making only a dollar where some other men are making a dollar and a quarter or a dollar and a half, he begins to do some active thinking.

Benefits the Workingman

The intelligent workingmen have seen where labor gets a direct advantage from a sweeping inquiry like that which the Board has been making. The relation of labor to manufactures of all sorts is a highly important feature of such an analysis of the cost of production as is found in these reports. For one thing, there is the publicity, preventing the employers from pocketing the whole of the profits, which, on the theory of our protective policy, they share with their help. Again, the Board has brought out a significant fact, which is bound to make for the advantage of the working people in the long run—that the largest returns come, as a rule, in those quarters where the best wages are paid—what is spent on liberal treatment of the employees coming back, apparently, in increased efficiency.

To return to the broad question of tariff revision, I am not disheartened by what some critics say about the danger of keeping the country in a perpetual ferment of nervous apprehension regarding coming changes. Nothing could do more to prevent such a ferment than the very plan we are now considering. Hitherto, we have seen the whole tariff structure torn to pieces and rebuilt whenever there has been a change of parties in control at Washington, and even sometimes when the same party has remained responsible but the personnel of the group in command has changed. Such overhaulings are always accompanied by a more or less violent convulsion of business, followed by a state of stagnation protracted through the whole period while the outcome continues at all in doubt. The new bill is talked about for a long time before it is framed; there are extended hearings in committee, and afterward a series of secret sessions behind barred doors, and debates of some length on the floors of Congress; and after all these there is a possible interval of ten days during which, if the bill is suspected of being distasteful to the president, its fate at his hands remains uncertain. At the committee hearings *ex parte* statements are presented by men pecuniarily interested in the several trades and industries which are liable to be affected by the proposed legislation. Everybody with an ax to grind either brings it to Congress himself or tries to influence that

body through an agent on the ground. In every instance the length of time which has elapsed since the last revision, and the changes of conditions in various lines of production and commerce in the interval, rouse a general dread lest there be heavy increases of duty in one quarter or deep cuts in another; and, unhappily, a feeling has widely prevailed that the decision where to make such increases and cuts would be reached, not by a calm consideration of the merits of each case, but by a log-rolling or back-scratching process.

Evils of the Old Method

Such unsystematic ways of patching a tariff together open wide the avenues for perjury and other fraud, for special pleading, for appeals to the most sordid political motives, for the exercise of gross favoritism and the wreaking of petty revenges, and have given rise even to charges of bribery and investigations shadowing the good repute of men high in the councils of the nation. Is it a pleasant reflection that such an atmosphere is liable to continue surrounding our tariff legislation indefinitely?

What have we to offer as a substitute? A system which keeps always at the disposal of Congress, and open to the people, a chart of the world's producing activities, corrected almost from day to day. The changes noted in the foreign cost of production of various commodities are doubtless individually slight; in one case they may swing, pendulum-like, a little this way and a little that, ending their agitation at about the same point where it began. In another, there may be a steady trend to one side for a while, due to causes not difficult to discover through the machinery of the Tariff Board; but by the time the divergence has become so marked and continued so long as to make a change in this schedule desirable, everybody will be prepared for it and can estimate just about how much of a change it ought to be. This eliminates the now customary shock of surprise. Thus we have a highly important part of the work of lawmaking brought down to an almost automatic basis; at any rate, we can always be sure of an automatic warning of what had better be done; and if Congress doesn't do it, or the President withholds his approval from a tariff amendment manifestly right, the people will know where to place the responsibility. At one stroke we can get rid of a lot of the old scandals about log-rolling and favoritism, and the charges of perjury and bribery which were freely bandied between the parties in past times; make our tariff changes gradual instead of precipitate, and partial instead of sweeping; and be able to defend a rate, when fixed, by showing with substantial accuracy the measure of protection it extends to the home producer. Can any reasonable citizen object to such a logical and self-consistent plan, as a substitute for our present practice of revising the tariff by rule-of-thumb?

CHAPTER XX

Fallacies in the Tariff Law

By ALBERT B. CUMMINS
United States Senator from Iowa

THE INCREASE IN SCHEDULE B—REDUCTION IN STEEL DUTIES DOES NOT BENEFIT CONSUMERS—THE JOKER IN THE STEEL SCHEDULE—THE CUTLERY AND WATCH SCHEDULES—REDUCTION ON BOARDS—THE JOKER IN THE TIMBER SCHEDULE—THE INJUSTICE OF THE SUGAR SCHEDULE—AN INCREASE ON COTTON—WOOL MANUFACTURERS ENABLED TO RAISE PRICES.

For eleven years I have been advocating tariff revision. With me it has not been an agitation merely to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the country. During all these years, in season and out of season, through good and evil report, I have been appealing for a reduction of the tariff along definite lines and to accomplish a definite purpose. I have always admitted that with respect to those commodities of which we are capable of supplying the home demand, duties, however high, do no harm so long as there exists effectual competition between our own producers; and I repeat that admission now. It seemed to me that duties should be so adjusted in a tariff framed with due regard for all considerations as to prevent the domestic producer from raising his price above a fair American level without exposing himself to foreign competition.

There is but one standard of duties which will accomplish the result I have tried to describe. Duties are fixed at the proper point when the domestic producers can enter the domestic markets upon even terms with their foreign competitors and hold these markets at a fair producers' profit.

The Increase in Schedule B

Schedule B of the Payne-Aldrich law embraces earthenware, china ware, glass, and glassware, marble, stone, and the like. This schedule, notwithstanding the tables I have seen prepared, both by Republicans and Democrats, is increased as compared with the Dingley law. There is no reduction in the duties of Schedule B. There are changes in some of its items, reductions in some of its items; but I say now—and I shall be prepared to defend this statement, although it is utterly impossible for me

to enter upon the consideration of its details here—that the duties of Schedule B have been increased rather than decreased. There is a trifling reduction in the duties upon common window glass.

In plate glass, with respect to the two smaller brackets, so-called, the duties have been increased 25 per cent above the Dingley law, and while it is true that the duties upon the very highest class or largest size of plate glass have been reduced, the reduction is entirely immaterial, because no manufacturer of glass in the United States ever did or ever could take advantage of the absurd duty of 35 cents a square foot upon plate glass.

Reduction in Steel Duties Does Not Benefit Consumer

Schedule C is the schedule which relates to metals and their manufacturers, and with regard to this schedule, and with respect especially to what is known as "tonnage steel," there has been a marked reduction of the duty. There is no other schedule in the Payne-Aldrich law which indicates reductions comparable with Schedule C, and notwithstanding it is so, I declare, knowing the responsibility I assume when I make the declaration, that so far as the people who buy iron and steel are concerned, they would have been quite as well off if there had been no reduction from the Dingley tariff.

The duty on structural steel is immensely increased, which has done or will do the American people more harm, infinitely more harm, than the reduction of all the duties that are found in Schedule C. Under the Dingley law, the duty on structural steel of all kinds, structural shapes of all kinds, was \$10 per ton; and because one building in New York has been constructed of imported structural steel, imported, as I am informed, because our home mills could not and would not furnish the steel at the time the owners of the property desired it, simply because of that fact, the duty upon structural steel has been raised so that at \$35 per ton for structural steel it is \$16 per ton in duty; and if the price should go to \$40 a ton, it is \$18 per ton duty.

The Joker in the Steel Schedule

The House fixed the duty at \$6 per ton, and the Senate, in a very accommodating spirit, segregated the real heart of the structural-steel business by saying "but not assembled or advanced beyond rolling, casting, and hammering," describing in that way a product which no American consumer has ever bought or ever will buy.

Now, while I shall not stop to argue upon the details of it, because I recognize that it is simply my judgment being recorded, as to structural steel, the use of which is advancing more rapidly than any other form of steel, just as rapidly as wood bridges give way to steel structures, just as rapidly as brick buildings or stone buildings give way to steel structures, this commodity has been raised 60 per cent above the rate fixed by the Dingley law and more than 100 per cent above the duty fixed by the House.

The Cutlery and Watch Schedules

There are many other things that have been raised in the metal schedule that I have not the time to consider. While in some instances we have reduced the duties upon cutlery, as a whole the cutlery schedule has been raised. The manufacturers of the United States have been given an unjust and unfair advantage that they did not possess before.

The duties upon watches in the metal schedule are set forth in very great detail. The duties on watches have been increased in some instances. As with cutlery, in a few cases the rate has been lowered. But mark my words: Those who control the watch business of the United States, by reason of the conditions—onerous, and in some respects ridiculous, conditions—that have been attached to the watch schedule, will find it easier to work their will upon the American consumer than they did before.

The Joker in the Timber Schedule

In the Dingley law, timber squared by either hewing or sawing, or in any other method, bore a duty of 1 cent per cubic foot, the timber being 8 inches or more upon a side. When the Payne-Aldrich bill came from the House to the Senate it was observed that there had been carefully interpolated the words "hewn or squared otherwise than by sawing," excluding thereby all the squared timber that has been or could be brought into the United States, because in these days we do not hew timber, we saw timber. The conscience of the Senate was so shocked that instantly those words were stricken from the proposed law, and the Senate adopted that paragraph saying "timber squared, no matter how squared, 1 cent per cubic foot." It passed into the sacred precincts of the conference committee room, and there the zealous friends of a high duty upon lumber found their opportunity, and there were restored the words which had been wrought into the bill in the House and which had been stricken from the bill in the Senate; and it is now "squared otherwise than by sawing."

So every foot of timber that comes into the United States hereafter will come in not under the paragraph relating to timber; it will come in under the paragraph relating to boards. And what will be the duty? There are 12 feet of board measure in a cubic foot of timber. There will be 12 boards, and they will come in at the rate of \$1.25 a thousand if they have not been finished in any way. And what is that rate? It is just 50 per cent more than 1 cent per cubic foot. Therefore much has been done to neutralize the benefit conferred upon the American people by reducing lumber to \$1.25 per thousand.

And not only so, but the duty upon shingles has been raised 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, from 30 cents a thousand to 50 cents a thousand. I shall not stop to inquire into the justice of this increase; I am only trying to see whether we have revised this tariff in accordance with what I believe to be the spirit of the Republican party. While I am willing to say that there has been on the whole a little reduction in the lumber schedule, it is not that reduction which we even in the Senate believed should be made when the bill passed from our care into the care of the conference committee.

The Injustice of the Sugar Schedule

Schedule E is the next schedule—sugar. I want you to remember that we have reduced the duty upon refined sugar 5 cents per hundred pounds. But while reducing the duties on sugar 5 cents per hundred pounds how long will it take a man to acquire 5 cents' benefit out of that reduction? He must eat sugar constantly for two years in order to be benefited. But I pass that. I complain more particularly of the determination upon the part of the Senate to preserve for the American Sugar Refining Company the differential which, as it is now crystallized into the Payne-Aldrich law, will enable it to continue its campaign of depredation and fraud and crime. My complaint is that no opportunity has been given in this readjustment of the tariff schedule for the honest, the struggling, the independent sugar refiner, and of course it has not benefited in any degree the sugar producer.

An Increase on Cotton

Schedule I embraces cotton manufactures. We have had more dispute with respect to cotton and its manufactures than upon any other subject, unless it is upon the sheep and the things that are made from his fleece. The duties on cotton and cotton manufactures have been increased. No one disputes that proposition. I do not intend to weary you by a submission of tables showing the extent of the increases. The duty on cotton manufactures has been increased from the beginning to the end of the schedule.

Schedule J relates to flax and hemp and jute, and so on. There is a very slight decrease in some kinds of yarns which people do not use—I mean the consumers—to any extent, which are used only by the manufacturers. I pass them. This schedule stands practically as it was. There are more increases in it when measured by substance than there are decreases in it; and I stand here as the monument—a very mournful monument—of one effort to reduce one thing in this schedule. You can not say that Schedule J is revised downward and that any of its excessive duties have been corrected.

Wool Manufacturers Enabled to Raise Prices

I now come to Schedule K, wool and its manufactures. Has there been any revision of the duties upon the manufactures of wool? Have we taken away from the woolen manufacturers the possibility, aye, the probability, of being able to lift still higher the prices of their products without danger from abroad? Not one letter has been changed in this bill respecting the duties upon these things.

I close my review of this bill. I intend to fight just as hard, just as persistently, just as zealously for the Republican party in the future as I have done in the past. I hope that it will be as brilliantly successful in the future as in the past; but I never shall forego for a single moment my right to point out the errors of the party to which I belong, or intermit my efforts to bring it to the position which I think it ought to occupy.

CHAPTER XXI

Democratic Tariff Reform

By OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
Chairman, Ways and Means Committee

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE—INCREASING REVENUE BY LOWERING RATES—
THE TARIFF AND MONOPOLY—THE TARIFF ON AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS—
LEATHER PRODUCTS—SEWING MACHINES—OTHER TARIFF-MADE MONOPOLIES—FOOD PRODUCTS.

After all, issues like the initiative and referendum are more or less local. It is for states and cities to say what they would like to do. The main thing which our American people as a whole, as a republic, as a nation, are entirely interested in is the question of the tariff. That concerns them in their homes, it affects the course of their lives, it restricts their pleasures or increases their comforts just as the tariff is high or low, and there is no one who can escape it in all the country. There may be many persons who never heard of the initiative and referendum or some of the other lateral issues of this present day, but I believe that there is hardly a citizen or a resident of our country in every state who does not know something of the tariff question and who has not made up his mind how he stands on it.

A Tariff for Revenue

With such a situation the way is clear. There is one thing which the Democratic party can accomplish for this country if it is placed in power. That is to lower the tariff. And I believe that there are in the United States so many more people who want the tariff lowered than there are those who desire it to stay where it is that the way to victory for the Democratic party lies along this one road of low tariff.

We do not believe in levying taxes at the custom-house for the benefit of any man or the benefit of any industry. Our position is that the taxes levied at the custom-house are for the sole purpose of producing revenue to support the government of the United States, and that we are not justified in levying taxes for any other purpose. Therefore, when we approach the question of putting articles on the free-list the sole point involved, so far as we are concerned, is whether the government of the United States can dispense with the revenue derived from these articles.

Increasing Revenue by Lowering Rates

Now, as to the question of revenue in the various schedules, the Democratic party, as I have said before, does not stand for the wiping out of the custom-houses. We expect to raise the necessary revenue to run this government at the custom-houses, but we contend that in many of the schedules and many of the items in the tariff law now on the statute books the rates are prohibitory and prevent the importation of goods from abroad, as well as a fair and reasonable competition. And it is not necessary to say that when you build your tariff wall so high that foreign goods cannot enter the country you cannot raise revenue on them. But if you will lower your rates, more goods will come into the country, and consequently more revenue will be collected at the custom-houses.

We believe that by reason of a fair reduction in the tariff rates in the present schedules we will, instead of reducing, actually increase the revenue at the custom-houses. Under the Dingley bill—and the Payne bill is equally as prohibitive in all essential features—the importations of cotton goods amounted to only about 2.8 per cent of the consumption of these goods in this country; the imports of woolen to only about 6.3 per cent of the consumption of woolen goods. On some of the other schedules the quantity of importations compared with the American consumption did not amount to one per cent. Of course, in all of these schedules there were some articles that were highly competitive. There were a large number of articles on which the duties were clearly prohibitive, and on which revenue could not be raised. Now, our clear duty is to reduce the tariff on articles on which the present rates are prohibitive, and to increase the quantity of imports to a reasonable extent, and thereby increase the amount of revenue from the customs.

The Tariff and Monopoly

Now, you may say, and the stand-pat, prohibitive tariff advocates always do say, that the American market belongs to the American producer and the American manufacturer, and if you are letting in goods from abroad you are shutting down factories at home. I believe that the American manufacturer and the American producer are entitled to a large percentage of the American market, but they are not entitled to a monopoly. They are entitled to a fair opportunity to dispose of their goods at home, but they are not entitled to have the tariff wall built so high that it prohibits competition and gives them a chance, by combinations at home, to exploit the American people for the benefit of themselves.

Either an individual or any great industry having ninety per cent of a business of the American people, or ninety per cent of the American market, in his control has a monopoly. There is not a man in this country who, if he controlled absolutely ninety per cent of the market, would not say that he had a monopoly. And yet among the great industries of this country, such as iron and steel, and wool, and cotton, and glass, and lumber, there is not a single industry that is not to-day controlling more than ninety per cent of the American market; most of them more than

ninety-five per cent of the American market. So I say a reasonable reduction of the tariff to a competitive basis, where there is a chance for fair competition to regulate prices, will not only be beneficial to the American people, but will increase the revenue at the custom-houses; so that, instead of having a deficit in the treasury of the United States, as we have to-day, we can increase the revenues to such an extent that the government will have all the money required for governmental expenditures.

The Tariff on Agricultural Implements

The first articles we place on the free list are agricultural implements. The census of 1905 shows that the domestic production of agricultural implements amounted to \$111,345,000, that the importations coming into this country were less than \$14,000, and that the duties paid at the custom-houses from this magnificent tax levied on agricultural implements amounted to \$2,775.

The Republican Congress levied a tax at the custom-house on the agricultural implements used by the farmers of this country, which only raised the pitiful sum of \$2,775, and we propose to deprive the treasury of the United States of \$2,775, and in lieu thereof to give to the American farmer absolute freedom in the purchase of the agricultural implements he needs for working the farm.

In that same year, when the production of agricultural implements amounted to \$111,345,000, we exported \$20,722,000 worth to the markets of the world, and during the last fiscal year our exports of these implements amounted to over \$28,000,000.

Twenty-eight million dollars of agricultural implements sent into all the markets of the world, in free competition with the manufacturers of other countries! After paying the freight and sometimes adverse tariff rates to get into those countries, our manufacturers of these farming implements were able to compete with manufacturers there and sell a very large percentage of their total product; not their surplus consigned to a dumping ground, but a very large percentage, more than twenty per cent of their total product, in free competition with the markets of the world. And yet when the Republicans wrote the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill and brought it before Congress, with all their solicitude for the American farmer, they levied a tax, ranging from twenty to thirty per cent, and in some cases forty per cent, on what he had to buy.

Leather Products

Now, as to leather products. The census of 1905 showed that the total production of leather products in this country amounted to \$525,000,000 for the calendar year 1904. It has increased materially since that time. The imports for consumption in 1905 amounted to \$437,000, and the duties paid at the custom-houses were only \$146,000, on a great industry that produces in this country over half a billion dollars' worth of products! On the other hand, our exports of boots, shoes, and leather

products amounted to \$33,000,000 for the year 1905, and the amount has increased since that time. Let me call attention to your legislation on that subject.

Take boots and shoes. The year before the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill was enacted into law the production of boots and shoes in this country amounted to something like \$320,000,000. The total importations of boots and shoes into the United States amounted to \$129,240 in 1908. The rate of duty was twenty-five per cent. The great boot and shoe interests came before the Ways and Means Committee and clamored for free hides. They said that they must have free hides in order that their industry might prosper, an industry that was exporting large quantities to every European market. More than that, the leading men in the boot and shoe industry came before the Ways and Means Committee and stated that if we would put hides on the free list, we could wipe out every particle of tariff on their product; that they would go out into the markets of the world in free competition with all the world, and that nothing but the broad dome of heaven would control the expansion of their trade. Yet when they found that they could get free hides they came back before the Ways and Means Committee and took back their statement, and instead of taking off the duty and putting boots and shoes on the free list, the committee put a tax of ten per cent ad valorem on boots and shoes, and that is practically as prohibitive to-day as the tax of twenty-five per cent was under the Dingley Act. The importations before amounted to only about \$129,000, and the total importations in 1910 only amounted to \$175,000.

Only a difference of \$46,000 in the importations of boots and shoes coming into this country after the Republican party reduced the tax from twenty-five per cent ad valorem to ten per cent ad valorem! Can any man deny that it is as prohibitive a tax to-day as it was before?

Sewing Machines

As to sewing machines, the total production, as shown by the census of 1905, amounted to over \$13,000,000 in this country, and the importations amounted to nothing. The exports for 1905 amounted to over \$6,000,000 and to more than seven and one-half million dollars in 1910. Why did the Republicans retain this prohibitive tax on sewing machines?

A sewing machine sells in this country to the poor working-man who earns his daily bread by daily toil at \$20 to \$30. I am informed by men who have been in the oriental trade that the same machine is laid down in the Orient at \$8.25, wholesale price, including freight. If that tax is not in the interest of protected monopoly, why did the Republicans keep it in the Payne-Aldrich bill? They get no revenue from it; not a dollar. The Republicans levy a tax without a dollar of revenue, and keep it there in order that they might have a tariff wall behind which a monopolistic combination may thrive and flourish. We propose to put sewing machines on the free list.

Other Tariff-Made Monopolies

Now, as to cotton ties, hoop and binding ties for cotton. The production in 1905 was \$12,760,000. The total imports only amounted to \$7,136. The total revenue was \$2,576. On the other hand we exported \$127,000 worth of cotton ties. Considering the fact that this is the chief cotton-producing country, it shows that cotton ties made in America are able to compete in the free and open markets of the world. It further shows that the government is deriving practically no revenue from the tax. But I go further than that. When the Wilson bill was enacted into law the Democratic party put binding twine on the free list for the northern farmer and cotton ties on the free list for the southern farmer. Each of them sends a great crop into the market; each competes in the world markets for supremacy; and the Democratic party thought it was just, right and fair that when these great agricultural products had to go into the markets of the world in open competition that baling and binding twine and cotton ties should be furnished to them on the same free basis of their competitors.

We gave it to the northern farmer, we gave it to the southern farmer; but when the Republicans came to write the Dingley bill, they left the binding twine on the free list for the northern farmer, but, in the interest of the northern steel mills, they put back the tax on cotton ties with which the southern farmer has to bale his cotton crop; they put back a prohibitive tariff that raises no revenue—purely in the interest of a manufacturing enterprise that had no competition. Can the Republicans ever justify that proposition? Can they go back to their friends on the northern farms and say, "Yes; we will give you, and keep on the statute books, free binding twine for your benefit because you go to the markets of the world, while we will tax the southern farmer on his cotton crop in the interest of our northern monopoly?"

Food Products

As to food products, I am not willing to say that placing food products on the free list will in all cases materially affect the price. It will, as I said in the beginning, prevent monopoly. It will allow free competition between the meats of Argentina and those sold by the Beef Trust. There is no question but that to-day the price of meat affects the price of cattle, and the price of cattle is fixed by the great combinations which control the meat products of this country. These combinations fix the price of meat according to the demands of the market and the necessities of the case. This is the only way that we can secure any competition in meat products. It opens the market, especially along the eastern seaboard, to competition in meat products from Argentina. I believe this will reduce the cost of meat products and hence the cost of living. I am sure that the future will demonstrate that putting these articles on the free list will prevent the markets from being monopolized in flour and in meat for the benefit of certain special interests which control the markets.

CHAPTER XXII

A Plan for Currency Reform

(Republican View)

By NELSON W. ALDRICH
Chairman of the National Monetary Commission

NATIONAL RESERVE ASSOCIATION—STABILITY OF BANKING RATES—
INDEPENDENCE OF RESERVE ASSOCIATION—REMEDY OF SPECIFIC
EVILS—NOTE ISSUES—COMMERCIAL PAPER—FOREIGN BANKS—A PLEA
FOR CO-OPERATION.

Among the important tasks assigned the National Monetary Commission is that of devising a plan by which this great country may, in the interest of all of its people of every class and every section, secure that immunity which, for half a century, has been enjoyed by the people of every other great commercial nation, from the disastrous results of monetary panics and acute monetary disturbances; that of presenting a plan which will protect the rights of and afford security to bank depositors, and enable the banks at all times to respond to every legitimate demand for the credit and currency so essential for the development of our industries; that of constructing a monetary system for the United States that shall answer the present and prospective needs and requirements of the economic life of a great people.

National Reserve Association

I shall discuss briefly some of the salient features of the plan to remedy existing defects through the organization of a National Reserve Association. It is proposed to organize the banks of the country into local associations, and these into district associations, each with distinctive functions and each with local self-government, and to organize all district associations into the National Reserve Association. The plan of organization includes positive provisions.

First, to maintain the integrity and independence of existing banks, state and national. The new organization is outside of and in addition to the existing system. As it is not a bank, it is not in any sense a competitor for the business of existing banks.

Second, it provides clearly the equality of privileges and advantages for all banks, great and small, wherever located.

Third, it provides equality in rates of discount, or rediscount, for all banks, and these rates are to be uniform throughout the country. This, it is believed, will insure steadiness and reasonableness of rates everywhere.

Stability of Banking Rates

This will not necessarily result to the disadvantage of the banks of the United States, if we can judge by the experience of the great joint-stock banks in other countries. These banks in France, England, and Germany, with this general equalization of rates under similar conditions, pay dividends that are at least equal to those paid in the United States. This is owing to the steadiness of rates that I have alluded to. This equalization of rates and conditions would be of vast benefit to the people of various sections of the country. I look forward to the time when with the adoption of the provision I have named the planter or the farmer of the West or Southwest or the farmer or miner of our inter-mountain states will be able with the same class of credit or securities to obtain the money requisite for his purposes at as low a rate as that current in other sections for similar loans.

Fourth, the plan as submitted answers every requirement of the condition that its control should be absolutely beyond the reach of any political influence; but I say, with the utmost frankness, that if any better scheme or plan to secure these results can be suggested, I am sure the National Monetary Commission will adopt it.

Independence of Reserve Association

Fifth. To prevent beyond question the possibility of its control by any corporation or combination of corporations, banks or otherwise, by any individual or combination of individuals in Wall Street or elsewhere, for selfish or sinister purposes, it is proposed to take every precaution and to adopt every safeguard. No provision of a plan to reconstruct our monetary system is of more vital importance than this.

Under the plan New York could have no more than four representatives out of thirty-nine, but New York City alone has twenty per cent of the banking capital and twenty-six per cent of the banking resources of the United States. The whole of the Eastern States, including New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, could have but twelve representatives, or thirty-one per cent of the representation. Those states have fifty per cent of the banking capital of the United States and sixty per cent of the banking resources of the United States. That great Middle West, which is a very important factor in our economic life, undoubtedly would have four districts and could have forty-one per cent of representation, with twenty-five per cent of banking resources. The South could have thirty-one per cent of representation, with fourteen per cent of the banking resources of the country.

I think that this statement must of itself convince that there can be no local domination—no domination of selfish interests in this organization.

Sixth. The dominating principle is co-operation and not centrali-

zation. We were satisfied that we could not adopt or adapt to our use an organization like the central banks of Europe or the Second Bank of the United States.

Remedy of Specific Evils

Among the provisions of the plan intended to remedy defects and cure existing evils are the following:

(1) To insure the maintenance of adequate reserves by the association and its members, with such provisions for discounts and note issues as shall enable the organization to respond promptly at all times to normal or unusual demands for credit or currency without danger of undue expansion or inflation.

(2) To provide for concentration of the cash reserves of all the banks to be used for the assistance and support of any, under assured decentralization of control. Scattered reserves have been found useless in times of pressure. Deposit balances in the Reserve Association are to be counted as legal reserves.

(3) To authorize the association to rediscount, through its district branches under local control, commercial paper of a definite character for individual banks, to be used in replenishing their reserves.

(4) To give to individual banks the facilities for an increase of their reserves and loaning power, which will enable them to adopt the policy which has been universally effective in other countries of allaying excitement, creating confidence, and preventing panics by prompt payment of all demand obligations as presented, and at the same time granting a liberal extension of credit to all deserving customers in times of uncertainty and distrust.

We propose to remedy the defects to which I have alluded by providing that the balance of any bank with the Reserve Association shall be counted as a part of its legal reserve. The Reserve Association may through its branches rediscount commercial paper for individual banks whenever it becomes necessary to maintain their balances and to protect and replenish their reserves. Commercial paper available for this purpose, as defined by the plan, includes all notes and bills of exchange issued or drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes, but not for carrying stocks, bonds, or other investment securities.

This will enable the banks of the country to adopt the policy of providing that simultaneous strengthening of reserves and liberal extension of credits which has been successful in every instance for half a century in the prevention of panics by the banks in the commercial nations of Europe.

(5) To grant the power for further note issues to this co-operative association of all the banks, an authority which is now vested in national banks scattered throughout the country.

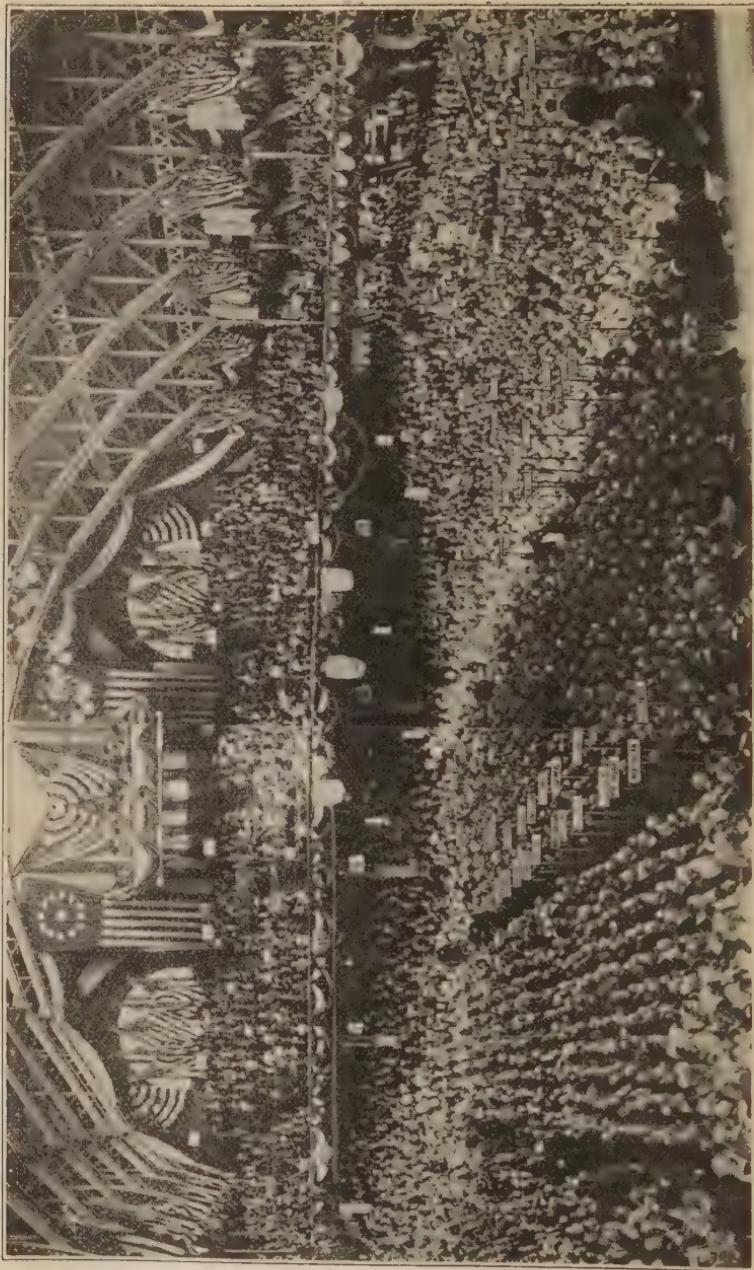
Note Issues

It is evident that a change in the manner and character of issues must take place at an early date. There are outstanding less than \$200,000,000

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THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN SESSION AT CHICAGO

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of bonds with the circulation privilege attached not owned by the banks and held for circulation purposes. These bonds are, however, largely of a class which it will not be profitable for the banks to buy as a basis for circulation. Congress at its last session inaugurated the policy of issuing bonds without the circulation privilege attached. From these facts it must be evident that with the demands arising from the changing needs of the country, the adoption of some other basis for further note issues will soon be necessary. Our bond-secured currency has all the qualities of ultimate safety, and its prompt redemption is guaranteed by the United States; but it is not, as our experience has amply shown, responsive either in expansion or contraction to the ever-changing conditions and demands of business. It will be seen that we have followed, in the outlines of the plan suggested, the modern method, which has universal approval, of providing for note issues, based upon gold and commercial paper, through one central organization, under strict governmental control and supervision.

The safeguards against undue expansion of note issues are found (1) in the provision that no notes shall be issued when the gold cover is less than thirty-three and one third per cent; (2) that a graduated tax shall be imposed on the amount of the deficiency whenever and so long as the reserve against all liabilities falls below fifty per cent; and (3) by a provision that whenever notes are issued in excess of \$900,000,000, and the excess issue is not fully covered by gold or other lawful reserve money, a tax of one and one half per cent shall be paid upon the excess, and that notes issued in excess of \$1,200,000,000, not so covered, shall pay a tax of five per cent.

The Reserve Association is required to redeem its notes promptly on demand at its several branches.

(6) We provide for giving authority to the Reserve Association to fix rates for rediscounts, which must be uniform throughout the country.

(7) We give to the Reserve Association power to protect its own reserves, and thus enable it at all times to perform its most important function, that of sustaining the credit of communities and the country. For this purpose the association is required to keep its assets always in liquid form, and all its rediscounts and investments must be in short-time paper or securities. To enable the association to strengthen its own reserves it may, first, attract gold from other countries by an advance in the discount rate. Second, it can purchase and borrow gold and give security for its loans. Third, it is authorized to buy and sell, either in the United States through its subscribing banks, or in foreign countries through foreign banks or correspondents or its own agencies, bills of exchange payable in any of the great commercial countries. A large portfolio of short-time foreign bills has been found elsewhere the most effective means for increasing the gold supply of countries and preventing its exportation in critical times.

Commercial Paper

(8) Believing that it is of great importance to establish a wider discount market in this country, the plan prescribes a standard of commercial paper,

which is made available for rediscount at the branches of the Reserve Association; second, it allows national banks, to the extent of one-half their capital, to accept properly secured drafts drawn upon them—drawn, perhaps, with documents attached, against cotton, wheat, or other products in transit or in warehouse; third, it authorizes the National Reserve Association, as I have already stated, to buy and sell in this country and abroad bills of exchange drawn on foreign countries, based on transactions in American products, or to pay for our purchases abroad. It gives in this manner a national and international currency, a newer and wider market, to notes, acceptances, and bills of exchange based on the agricultural and other products of the United States.

(9) It requires the association to facilitate domestic exchanges by transfer of balances from one branch of the association to another upon application. Europe makes transfers of this nature to a very great extent. Great benefit will accrue to us, especially in times of excitement and uncertainty, by having one great institution, that by simply transferring a balance upon its books, can transfer funds from one section of the country to another without delay.

(10) It is proposed to admit state banks and trust companies to membership and equal privileges in the organization under provisions which co-ordinate the conditions of membership of all banks in the same locality with reference to the character of their reserves against demand and time deposits and with reference to the character and number of examinations and the frequency and character of reports of condition. The treatment of time deposits is believed to be equitable to banks of all classes.

(11) We propose to give national banks increased privileges. There has been a feeling that in the competition for business throughout the country state banks and trust companies, especially in recent years, have had an advantage over national banks. I believe it is fair to both classes of institutions that so far as we can do so by national legislation—and we are, of course, confined to very narrow limits in this respect—we ought to give to national banks, state banks, and trust companies an equality of privileges and advantages.

Foreign Banks

(12) It authorizes the organization of banks in foreign countries to assist in the extension of our international trade.

Banks do not dare now to buy bills drawn against foreign shipments, first, because they have no knowledge of the responsibility of the parties making the drafts, and, second, because of the fear that at the time when they might need the money there would be no demand or market for paper of that class.

And what I say about foreign bills is largely true of domestic bills of the character of the acceptances authorized by the plan. When a great bank in New Orleans, for instance, knowing the maker of a draft, perhaps a sugar, rice, or cotton planter, who has deposited with the bank security on his products, either in transit or in warehouse, and accepts his paper,

it has at once currency in any market of the world, and could be promptly transformed into reserves and made available for increasing the loaning power of a depositing bank at any time.

There is not a particle of reason why prime sterling bills should forever remain the highest form of credit. We ought to make New York and New Orleans and Chicago financial centers of equal importance with any in Europe. We ought to make a documentary bill drawn by a producer in Louisiana or anywhere in the United States, drawn in dollars and cents, equal in currency and value to any drawn in pounds, shillings and pence.

(13) The dividends of the association to its stockholders are limited to five per cent, and the association, for the important privileges granted to it, pays to the United States franchise or other taxes which are equivalent to the excess of its net earnings above dividends. It is estimated that the amount to be paid into the treasury of the United States will increase the revenues of the government at least \$15,000,000 per annum.

A Plea for Co-operation

This ends my analysis of the main features of the plan. We present what we believe is a scientific system, based in its methods on the experience of the world; an American system, based in its organization and control on our theory of representative government. I have tried to explain the purposes we seek to accomplish through the organization. I have not tried to discuss details. We do not claim that the plan is perfect or that it is conclusive on our judgment in every particular. We expect criticisms from intelligent men, and we welcome them if made in view of the needs and the necessities of this vast country, with its varied national and sectional interests. We hope that our friends will bear in mind, however, that criticism is much easier than construction. We have a right to expect that the plan presented will be considered fairly on its merits. We do not think it fair that men who admit they have not read the plan or who obviously have not given its provisions sufficient consideration to have enabled them to comprehend its meaning or purposes should raise the cry of a central bank or summon the ghost of Andrew Jackson and discourse about the Second Bank of the United States for personal or political purposes. We shall meet the opposition of another class who will seek to arouse prejudices and passions purely for self-exploitation, but I greatly mistake the character and intelligence of our people if this class of fakirs can have any important influence on the public mind.

CHAPTER XXIII

Reform of the Currency

(Democratic View)

BY FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS
United States Senator from Nevada

STRENGTHENING THE INDIVIDUAL BANKS—PROTECTION OF DEPOSITORS
AND PREVENTION OF PANICS—FEDERALIZING THE ASSOCIATION—
NON-ISSUING FUNCTIONS.

Logical national legislation on the banking question involves, in my mind, the recognition of interstate exchange as a branch of interstate commerce by taking hold of and regulating the state banks engaged in interstate exchange, just as we take hold of purely state railroads that are engaged in interstate transportation. The purpose of the legislation being to prevent paralysis of interstate exchange through constantly recurring bank panics, any legislation which leaves the state banks out of consideration as factors in the maintenance of an unimpaired interstate exchange is sadly lacking, for the state banks to-day equal the national banks in the extent of their capital, deposits, and credits. They are all engaged in interstate exchange, and constitute links in the general banking system of the country; and just as the strength of a chain is that of its weakest link, so it may be claimed that the strength of our banking system is affected by the condition of its weakest bank, and that all banks, both national and state, must be regulated by the national government in the interest of interstate commerce.

Strengthening the Individual Banks

I would first strengthen the individual banks by requiring of them a certain relation of capital and reserves to their obligations. As it is, the national banking act prescribes no proportion between the capital of a bank and the amount of deposits it can receive. The capital of a bank constitutes the margin of security upon which depositors rely. Sound banking requires that it should equal twenty per cent of the bank's obligations. I would not at first, however, attempt to reach this limit, but would simply provide that every bank should maintain a capital and surplus equal to twenty per cent of its deposit obligations.

As to reserves, sound banking requires that a bank should keep on

hand at least twenty per cent of its deposit obligations in order to meet the current checks of its depositors.

The national banking act requires twenty-five per cent reserve in central reserve cities, of which all must be kept in cash; a reserve of twenty-five per cent in reserve cities, of which one-half can be deposited in central reserve city banks; and fifteen per cent in the country banks, of which nine-fifteenths, or three-fifths, can be deposited in reserve city and central reserve city banks.

I would not, at present, increase these reserves, but I would diminish the proportion of the reserves which the country banks can deposit in other banks at the rate of one-fifteenth annually until such permitted deposits in other banks reach five-fifteenths, or one-third, of the total reserve; and there I would stop for the present.

I would also diminish the proportion which the reserve city banks can deposit in the central reserve city banks at the rate of one twenty-fifth annually until such permitted deposits in central reserve city banks reach five twenty-fifths, or one-fifth, of the total reserves instead of one-half, as at present.

I would require the same capital and reserves of state banks engage in interstate exchange as are required of national banks; but the question is whether this shall be made coercive or persuasive. I have no doubt of the power of the national government to compel state banks, as instrumentalities of interstate commerce, to comply with its regulations as to capital and reserves; but as this is a comparatively new contention and may arouse opposition to any general measure which contains it, it might be well to make it merely persuasive by providing that state banks may become members of the national reserve association, hereafter referred to, upon complying with the requirements of the national banking act as to capital and reserves and as to examination and inspection by the national government.

Protection of Depositors and Prevention of Panics

The next step would be to unionize the banks for preventing bank panics and the interruption of interstate exchange by enabling them to summon their reserves to any point of danger, just as the government concentrates its troops at the point of attack.

The Aldrich plan centralizes these at Washington by the creation of a reserve association of America, embracing in its membership as stockholders all the national banks and dividing the country, regardless of state lines, into sixteen subdivisions or zones, in the most prominent commercial city of which is located a branch of the reserve association.

There are two objections to this—one, that it practically creates a central bank, concerning which there will be a great difference of opinion between the two political parties, and the other that with the concentration of the money power of the country now existing such central bank would fall under the control of such power, and that the perversion of the proper function of banking from that of advancing exchange to

that of promotion and speculation would continue. Even if the Aldrich plan be theoretically and economically sound, I regard it as utterly impracticable at present, because of the balance of the political parties, each controlling a part of the government, and because of the universal distrust of certain powerful banking groups, to give it the sanction of law. Nor do I think that the reasoning regarding a central bank which would apply to similar institutions in England, France, and Germany can be applied to America, where we have a union of forty-eight states, most of which in area and population will some time rival those great countries.

It must be recollected also that in those countries the national power is absolute over commerce in its entirety, whilst in our country the national government is absolute only in interstate and foreign commerce, the state commerce being under the jurisdiction of the respective states. As, therefore, commerce itself under our system of government is divided into two parts—one part under the control of the states and the other part under the control of the union of states, or the nation—it is desirable that in the exercise of the regulating power we should have regard to the states as the units or subdivisions with reference to which the national power is to be exercised; and we should endeavor to bring about co-operation and harmony between the individual states on the one hand and the union of states on the other in the control and regulation of our commerce.

I would therefore organize under national law a reserve association in each state, to be formed by the national banks of each state; membership in which I would grant also to state banks engaged in interstate commerce, as all except the savings banks are, upon compliance with such requirements as to capital, reserve, investigation, and correction as exist with reference to national banks.

I would provide that such reserve association should have the power to examine the individual banks composing its membership and to exercise a certain degree of corrective power over them, and that it should have the power to insure the depositors of each individual bank composing its membership. Some speedy method should be provided for immediately taking over the assets and paying the depositors of any failing bank. I would give to such state reserve associations such of the powers, rights, and privileges given by the Aldrich plan to the proposed central reserve association as may be deemed desirable. In other words, I would endeavor to create in each sovereign state a financial center for that state, holding a position with reference to the state similar to that which New York holds to the United States.

As the banks of some of the smaller or weaker states might not be strong enough to form reserve associations under this plan, I would grant them the privilege, if they so desired, of joining a reserve association organized in an adjoining state.

I would turn over to such reserve association all the note-issuing functions of the individual banks constituting its membership, including the issuing of emergency currency.

Federalizing the Association

I would then federalize these state reserve associations through the organization of a national banking board, of which a certain proportion of the members should be selected by the national reserve associations under some plan that would promote proper geographical distribution, the national government, through the president, with the aid and confirmation of the Senate, to name the other members. I would make the secretary of the treasury the chairman of such commission and the comptroller of the currency its secretary.

I would not, in the first instance, give such commission large powers but would invest it with powers of examination, correction of evil practices, and recommendation to the president and to Congress. I would expect the national banking commission, by a process of evolution, to gradually increase in its powers as the result of experience in administration and legislation, and I would expect it to perfect a system of co-operation with the banking commissions of the respective states.

Note-Issuing Functions

I do not understand that Mr. Aldrich's plan provides for any additional currency, unless it be emergency currency. It simply provides that all the existing note-issuing functions of the national banks shall be turned over to the reserve association of America, of which the national banks are constituent members. The national-bank notes during the past ten years have increased from about \$300,000,000 to over \$600,000,000 as the result of the increase of the percentage of the bond security available for note issue and also as the result of the increased amount of United States bonds. The national banks also have the power to issue emergency currency to the extent of \$500,000,000, the retirement of which is forced by a gradually increasing interest rate or tax.

None of the latter is now extant. Under the Aldrich plan, therefore, the National Reserve Association would have the power to keep outstanding the present issue of national-bank notes of over \$600,000,000, and I think a similar provision should be made that the National Reserve Association of each state should take over the note-issuing functions of its constituent members. I would see no present necessity for changing the character of this issue. I would allow it to be gradually retired by the payment of the bonds themselves or by refunding such bonds into national bonds similar to the Panama Canal issue, bearing a rate of interest of about three per cent and without the note-issuing privilege.

I do not think we need seriously concern ourselves in the near future regarding either an asset-secured currency or a bond-secured currency, or a national currency. The country is now firmly established on the deposit and check system, under which banks are permitted to give credit to their customers on their books aggregating, on the average, more than five times the amount of cash which the banks have on hand. The borrower turns his loan into a deposit and checks against his deposit, and his checks constitute a currency admirably adapted to the requirements of

the country, the checks remaining out long enough to close the particular exchange or sale or transaction and then being retired. Under this method \$1,000,000,000 of cash in the banks as reserves is given an efficiency of \$5,000,000,000 through the loan and deposit system in the national banks, and a similar amount in the state banks, so that during the past ten years, as the result of a constantly increasing volume of gold which has been drawn into the banks as their cash reserves, we have had an increase of bank loans and corresponding bank deposits from about five billion to ten billion dollars, or in other words an increase of one hundred per cent in the credit facilities of the banks, whilst the population has increased only about twenty per cent. This accounts in great part for the extraordinary rise in prices which has taken place, and which has seriously disarranged the relations of debtor to creditor, of employee to employer, and of consumer to producer. An era of constantly increasing prices is almost as bad as an era of constantly falling prices, and both are caused by variation in the value of the medium of exchange as the result of the quantitative theory.

If stability in the value of the medium of exchange is desirable, it is clear, all other things being equal, that as the number of basic dollars increase the number of paper representatives should diminish, and paper representatives should only be availed of in order to tide over the time when there is a diminution in the production of basic dollars and a danger of a fall of values through contraction. It is clear, therefore, that at no period in the history of the world has there been so little need of the issue of paper money as at present, for the number of our basic gold dollars has vastly increased in quantity, in much greater proportion than the population, and the loan and deposit system has opened up such a vast area of credits as to do away with the need of so-called credit money. Indeed, the only occasions upon which credit money is needed at all under existing conditions is when a bank panic comes and depositors withdraw from the banks the actual dollars which stand at the base of the loan and deposit system. Then an emergency arises which necessitates some substitute in the shape of paper money which can be used as legal tender, and can be paid out as a substitute for the basic money.

CHAPTER XXIV

Public Regulation of Railroads

By WILLIAM J. GAYNOR
Mayor of New York

THE RAILROADS ARE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS, NOT PRIVATE ROADS—COULD NOT BE BUILT EXCEPT AS HIGHWAYS—FAVORITISM IN RATES WAS ALWAYS ILLEGAL—THE MONOPOLIES ARE CREATED BY RATE FAVORITISM—MERELY PASSING A STATUTE NOT ENOUGH TO STOP THE ABUSE—GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP—THE WRONG TO STOCKHOLDERS.

Prosperity is the highest production which a community is capable of, consistent with the physical and mental welfare of its members, accompanied by a just distribution of the total product among the producers. This does not mean share and share alike, but according to the productive capacity, physical or mental or both, of each. If the total product of industry be not justly divided among the producers of it in the ratio of their productive capacities, there is not a state of prosperity, however large the total product may be. If a few are being bloated with wealth by getting each year and constantly, by hook or by crook, by the aid of the laws, by the purchase of laws, by the misuse of public franchises, by the perversion of the public highways, vastly more than they are entitled to of the total product of industry, the total product of all who work in the complex organization of society, then the condition is not one of prosperity. That everybody is comfortable would not make it one of prosperity. Nothing is truer than that man does not live by bread alone. Man has a moral nature to satisfy and you cannot have that peace and security which are the corner-stone of prosperity and permanence without justice.

If, then, certain individuals in a short lifetime become possessed of so much property that they can make abnormal gifts to charity; if one man can get so much out of the division of the total product of industry while others are getting so little, that he can give away, for instance, the vast sum of \$32,000,000 in one gift without feeling it or missing it, so colossal is his wealth, any more than you would miss \$5, we may make a fatal mistake if we ascribe such a condition to prosperity. Rather let us pause and inquire whether such colossal fortunes could be acquired in a state of prosperity, which rests on a just division of the product of industry. If we find the public highways of the country, the railroads

of the country, being used to allow a few to acquire such fortunes at the expense of their fellow men, by having their freights carried at a rate lower than others have to pay, and so much lower that they are enabled to undersell and destroy their rivals in business, and thereby create monopolies in themselves, our condition is not only not one of prosperity, but it is dangerous to the perpetuity of our free government.

It is a military axiom that if you can get possession of the public highways of a country you have control of that country. The maxim is no less true from a commercial standpoint; if you can control the highways of a country you can control its commerce.

The Railroads Are Public Highways, Not Private Roads

Up to the coming of the railroad we had only the dirt roads and the water roads. With the invention of the steam locomotive came the matter of building roads for the use of such engines. This was about 1825. From the beginning of the world the public highways had always been built by government. In the state of New York government not only built our dirt highways, but also that great water highway, the Erie canal, and smaller ones. In the same way government could have built our iron highways. That is what government did in many or most countries, including the colonies of the British empire; they built the iron highways just as government had always built the dirt and water highways. In other countries instead of building these iron highways government adopted the policy of creating public corporations as arms or agencies of government to build and operate them as public highways. They were built under the same franchises from government as those under which corporations had theretofore been enfranchised to build and operate toll-gate roads. Such toll roads were built as public highways, open to all on the very same terms. That was the law of their being. The corporations which built them were permitted to charge a toll, but only the same toll to every one. In the very same way and on the same plan were the iron roads built as public highways open to all on the same terms.

Could Not Be Built Except as Public Highways

They could not be built except as public highways, as government roads, because the necessary land could not be acquired to build them as private roads. Any individual could build a railroad as a private road as can be done now, if the land could be obtained by private purchase. The trouble is that the owner of any strip of land on the route could stop the building of the road by refusing to sell his land. And this brings us right to the point of the matter. Government may take land against the will of the owner by its eminent domain power, for public buildings, or public highways, or any other public or government use. All land is owned by individuals subject to the paramount title of government. But land cannot be taken by government for any private use. Fasten that in your mind—that only government can take private property away from the

owner, and that it can take it only for public use, such as for a public highway and the like—and you have the key to why our iron roads just like our dirt and water roads had to be and were built not as private roads but as public highways; that is to say highways over which all had the right to have themselves and their goods carried on the very same terms to all, no more and no less to any one. That is what a public highway is; and in order that these iron roads could be built at all they had therefore to be built as public highways. To enable corporations to build them they had to be built as public highways, and to that end government had to confer on such corporations the right to use the government's power of eminent domain to take the necessary land for such public highways.

The matter got into the courts at the very beginning. After government had passed laws for the building of these iron toll highways by corporations, the same as corporations had been empowered to build dirt toll highways, property owners here and there resisted the taking of their property against their will by such corporations on the ground that the land was not to be put to a public but to a private use; that the roads were to be private roads and not public highways. But the courts held that they were to be and could only be public highways, and that therefore the land could be taken.

You therefore perceive that our iron roads are not private roads but public highways. The corporations, or rather the individuals who control the corporations which run them, can not do with them as they will. They are mere trustees or agencies of government, or of the people of the state or nation, to run them as public highways for the benefit of all, with the same rates and tolls to all, and without any favoritism or discrimination to any one. They hold and exercise a sort of office for that purpose.

Favoritism in Rates Was Always Illegal

Every free pass issued, every favor in freight rates granted, is in defiance of the law, yea, of the very law of the being of these iron highways and of the corporations running them. Some people are under the delusion that recent statutes made these things unlawful. Not at all; they were unlawful from the beginning. The fact that these iron roads were public highways, just like the dirt roads that ran alongside of them, became so far forgotten by some people that they thought it was meddlesome to interfere with the management of them. "Do they not own them, and may not one do as he likes with his own?" they asked. This is an old and arrogant question, but it was never true of the ownership of private property even, let alone being true of public highways or public property. No new laws were needed to make free passes and freight rate favoritism illegal; we only needed statutes to make it a criminal offense to grant them and jail those who should grant them.

Just think for a minute of these public highways of the country, open to all on absolutely equal terms by the very law of their being, being used to enable some men, a few men, to destroy their business rivals, drive them out of business and beggar them and their families, by means of favoritism

in freight rates. It is the basest crime of our day and generation. I do not have to stop to remind intelligent people that if I can get my freight carried at a rate so much lower than yours that I am thereby enabled to ruinously undersell you in the market that you must quit; you are ruined and I am left without a rival, with a monopoly, to dictate prices and do as I will. Transportation rates enter controllingly into the price of commodities as they are produced to the consumer. Now if I give an illustration it is not for holding any one man up to reproach above others.

The Monopolies are Created by Rate Favoritism

About 1870 I went through the oil region of Pennsylvania after completing my studies. There I saw a wilderness of derricks spread out over the country over engines pumping oil from wells. Hundreds of people owned such wells and were producing oil. In about five years all of these wells had passed into the ownership or control of one man or set of men. All of the others had failed and joined those unfortunates who fall by the wayside in the struggle for existence. And why and how? Were these few men able to dig wells or pump oil or refine it, any better than the hundreds of others? Not at all. Then how did they ruin and drive every one out but themselves? Why they went to the few powerful individuals who controlled the railroads, the public highways, and conspired with them, breathed with them, and got them to carry their oil to market for say \$1 a barrel while every one else was charged \$2 and more a barrel. More than that, they got these railroad autocrats and defiers of the law to secretly pay over to them such extra rates charged to all excepting them and then this unholy fund was divided among themselves and the railroad magnates. Of course this favoritism in freight rates enabled them to undersell and destroy all their rivals. Poor unfortunates, destroyed by the unlawful use of public highways, open by law to all on the same terms; destroyed by the neglect of their government to enforce the laws of these highways, nothing was left to them but to quit. Life to them was a failure. They and their wives and children were ruined. Just think of a debate being got up even by ministers of the gospel whether money thus acquired is tainted.

And this same thing has since been done in respect of all of our principal products. All of our commercial trusts or monopolies have been built up chiefly by means of this favoritism in freight rates. It is the mother of the trusts. Every one in business has to pay our protective tariffs alike; no one gets any abatement of them. But this favoritism in freight rates given to a few gives them a controlling advantage over all others. We will be looked back upon as a generation lost to moral sense for having suffered such a heartless wrong to continue so long.

Merely Passing a Statute not Enough to Stop the Abuse

And let no one be under the delusion that it is now to cease. You can't stop an evil by merely passing a law against it. There is an immense distance between the making of some laws and their observance. One

coterie of five men or less is receiving \$25,000,000 a year by this rate favoritism, and another has received \$500,000,000 since 1887, and so on through a long list of industries. So great is this rate favoritism that the gross freight receipts of some roads compared with the total tonnage carried over them is less than if all freight had been carried at the rate for coal, which is the lowest of rates. Do you think these men are going to give up this vast means of aggrandizement without a long struggle, lasting a generation and more? You know little of human nature if you do.

Government Ownership

Some have come to the conclusion that government should take the railroads and run them in order to end the abuse, the same as Bismarck had to do in Germany. It is very certain that if the abuse can be ended in no other way the people will compel government to take the roads. They do not intend that their legislature shall be corrupted and their government controlled by those who control the railroads. This country and government of ours are great enough to do anything. There is nothing radical or startling about government owning and running railroads, when one half or more of the railroads of the world are owned and operated by government. For my part I would rather not see the government do it. Private enterprise is too valuable to be eliminated from railroad building and management if it can be avoided. My own view, which I express with diffidence, is, that it is only necessary for government to appoint the general freight agent of every railroad, for he could stop all freight favoritism at once. It would not be his office to fix the schedules of rates, but only to see that everyone paid the schedule rate, no more and no less. The summary dismissal by him of any local agent who gave a false rate, and his criminal prosecution by government, would soon destroy the evil. Some at once cry out that there is no law for this, or that it is unconstitutional, as though our laws and constitutions were like those of the Medes and Persians, never to be changed. Laws and constitutions must be changed to conform to changed conditions. Lincoln said a political constitution should not outlast a generation in its entirety. Macaulay says of the British constitution that though it is constantly changing, there never was an instant of time when the chief part of it was not old.

The Wrong to Stockholders

This favoritism in freight rates and passenger rates is also wrong to railroad stockholders. All persons or freight carried free or at rates below the schedule rate are carried at the expense of the stockholders. And yet there are those who cry out that those who oppose this great evil of favoritism in rates are opposed to the railroads and their stockholders. If the sums allowed to the monopolies by way of favoritism in rates were paid into the coffers of the railroads, and declared out in dividends, stockholders would be receiving much larger dividends than they receive now.

CHAPTER XXV

The “Money Trust”

BY ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE
United States Senator from Wisconsin

CONTROL OF BUSINESS BY A FEW MEN—GROWTH OF FINANCIAL BANKING
—THE STANDARD OIL AND MORGAN GROUPS—CONNECTIONS OF
NATIONAL CITY DIRECTORS—RESERVES ARE MASSED IN NEW YORK—
EVIDENCE OF SPECULATION BY BANKS—FINANCIAL BANKING SUP-
PLANTING COMMERCIAL BANKING.

Eighteen hundred and ninety-eight was the beginning of great industrial reorganization. Men directly engaged in production brought about in the first instance an association of the independent concerns which they had built up. These reorganizations were at the outset limited to those turning out finished products similar in kind. Within a period of three years following, 149 such reorganizations were effected with a total stock and bond capitalization of \$3,784,000,000. In making these reorganizations the opportunity for a large paper capitalization offered too great a temptation to be resisted. This was but the first stage in the creation of fictitious wealth. The success of these organizations led quickly on to a consolidation of combined industries, until a mere handful of men controlled the industrial production of the country.

Control of Business by a Few Men

It contributes nothing of value to this discussion to denounce individuals on the one hand or laud them on the other. I have compiled a list of about one hundred men with their directorships in the great corporate business enterprises of the United States. It furnishes indisputable proof of the community of interest that controls the industrial life of the country.

No student of the economic changes in recent years can escape the conclusion that the railroads, telegraph, shipping, cable, telephone, traction, express, mining, iron, steel, coal, oil, gas, electric light, cotton, copper, sugar, tobacco, agricultural implements, and the food products are completely controlled and mainly owned by these hundred men; that they have through reorganization multiplied their wealth almost beyond their own ability to know its amount with accuracy. It is not necessary

to examine in detail the related events that have led to this marvelous concentration of business. The facts are well understood and generally recognized.

But the country seems not to understand how completely great banking institutions in the principal money centers have become bound up with the control of industrial institutions, nor the logical connection of this relationship to the financial depression which we have so recently suffered, nor the dangers which threaten us from this source in the future.

Growth of Financial Banking

Official figures do not show the real condition. The reports from banks upon which statistics are based fail to make clear the actual investment in speculative securities, not only through classification, but they fail for another reason. Banks secure information in advance that reports will be called for at a given time. Indeed, such notice comes to them through news dispatches from Washington direct. This gives an opportunity to sweep out and patch up and put the house in order, and the opportunity is not neglected. There is another reason why the actual holdings of banks in such securities are not shown in more recent reports. These banks have either established connections with trust companies or have organized inside trust companies as a protection and convenience. The bank and the trust company, though differently officered, will be found closely welded together in their directorates. These companies afford a convenient cover for the banks in many ways. Their securities can be borrowed and shuffled back and forth to make a good showing. The trust companies can handle securities which the banks can not touch. They can underwrite bonds and float loans for which the banks could not openly stand sponsor. They can deal with themselves in innumerable ways to their own benefit and the detriment of the public.

As the interests represented by the great banks use their customers, so they use to a less degree the various state, private, and savings banks which they control. The growth of financial banking appears even more marked when all classes of financial institutions are taken together. The ratio of stock and bond investments of national, state, private, and savings banks and trust companies to their total individual deposits, as shown by the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency, has increased from 8.9 per cent in 1890 to 28.2 per cent in 1907. The total holdings by banks and trust companies in these stocks and bonds, exclusive of United States bonds, amounted in 1907 to over \$3,690,000,000. By reliable estimate, based on extensive investigation by an independent New York banking house, the holdings of the banks and trust companies were three years ago almost a billion dollars in railroad bonds alone.

The Standard Oil and Morgan Groups

The bare names of the directors of two great bank groups—the Standard Oil group and the Morgan group—given in connection with their other business associations is all the evidence that need be offered

of the absolute community of interest between banks, railroads, and all the great industries.

There are twenty-three directors of the National City Bank (Standard Oil). There are thirty-nine directors of the National Bank of Commerce (Morgan). Examination of these directorates shows that the two groups are being knit together in business associations, suggesting their ultimate unification.

Subject to personal differences which may arise between powerful individuals of these different groups, resulting in occasional collision, they are practically a monopoly, and as far as the public is concerned, practically one group. The business partner of the head of the Morgan group is found on the directorate of the chief financial institution which heads the Standard Oil group. And one of the leading directors of the National City Bank (Standard Oil) is a member of the board of directors of the principal financial institution in the Morgan group. The directors of the leading organizations comprising the two principal groups are bound together in mutual interest as shareholders in the various transportation, franchise, and industrial concerns which have been financed by one or the other of the groups in recent years.

Connections of National City Directors

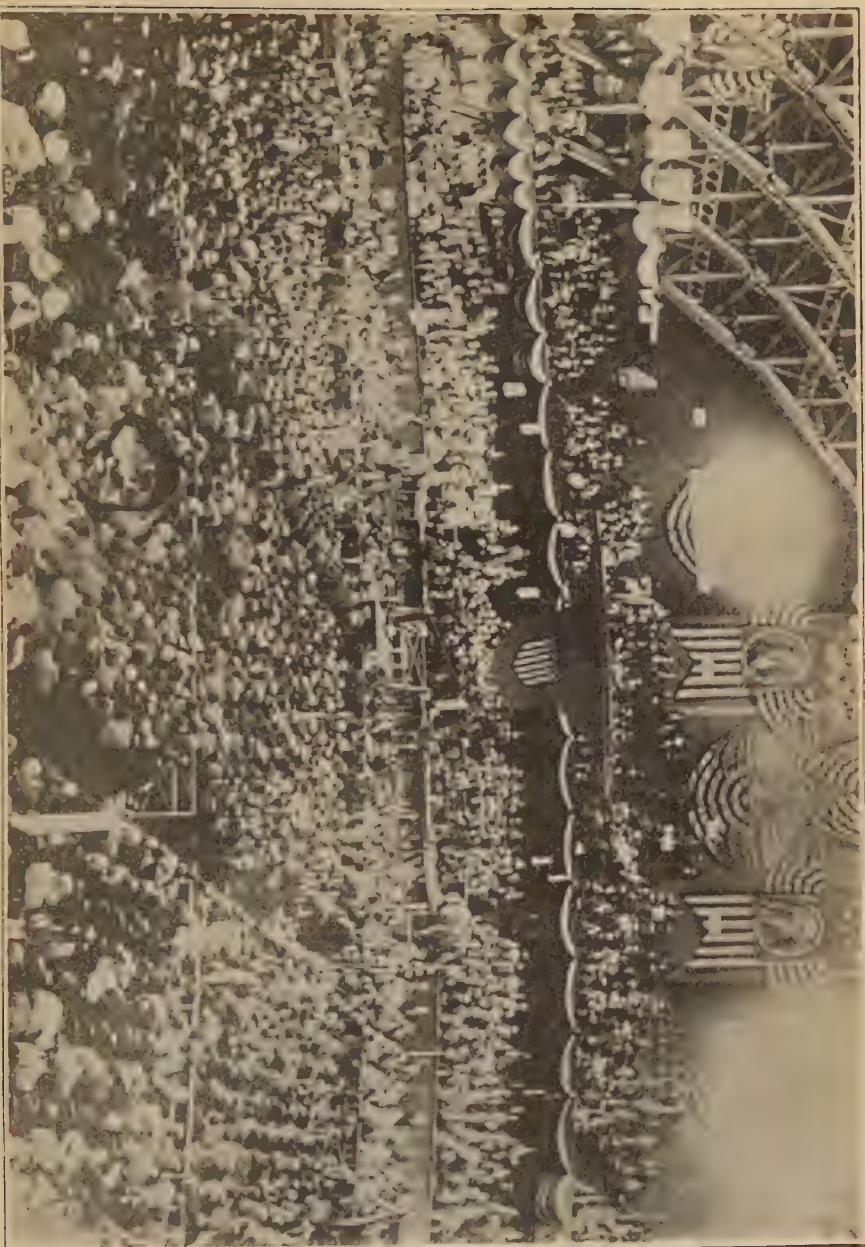
Fourteen of the directors of the National City Bank are at the head of fourteen great combinations representing thirty-eight per cent of the capitalization of all the industrial trusts of the country.

The railroad lines represented on the board of this one bank cover the country like a network. Chief among them are the Lackawanna, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, the Union Pacific, the Alton, the Missouri Pacific, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Rock Island, the Denver and Rio Grande, the Mexican National, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Northern Pacific, the New York Central, the Texas and Pacific, the Erie, the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the Delaware and Hudson, the Illinois Central, the Manhattan Elevated of New York City, and the rapid-transit lines of Brooklyn. These same twenty-three directors, through their various connections, represent more than 350 other banks, trust companies, railroads, and industrial corporations, with an aggregate capitalization of more than twelve thousand million dollars.

That is a part only of what is behind the directorate of the National City Bank of New York, the head of only one of these groups.

Reserves are Massed in New York

It was inevitable that this massing of banking power should attract to itself the resources of other banks throughout the country. Capital attracts capital. It inspires confidence. It appeals to the imagination. Added to this the forces back of these controlling groups could offer tempting interest rates and, finally, the federal legislation would almost seem to have been enacted to augment this power.



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THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION IN SESSION AT CHICAGO

August 5th to 7th, 1912



Photo. Amer. Press Assn.

"RUTHLESS AGAINST EVERY SPECIES OF CORRUPTION."

"The main issue is that we stand against bossism, big or little, and in favor of genuine popular rule, and above all, that our war is ruthless against every species of corruption."



Photo. Amer. Press Assn.

"I AM GOING TO FIGHT FOR CLEAN GOVERNMENT."

This photograph shows Colonel Roosevelt speaking to the crowd which thronged about his private car. He said, "I want to assure you that as long as I have the power to do so I am going to fight for clean government, clean manhood, clean politics."

The law providing that fifteen per cent of the deposits of a country bank should be held for the protection of its depositors conveniently permits three-fifths of the amount to be deposited in reserve city banks, and of the twenty-five per cent of reserve for the protection of depositors in reserve city banks one-half may be deposited with central reserve city banks. As there are but three central reserve cities, one of which, of course, is New York City, the alluring interest rates which these all-powerful groups could offer inevitably tended to draw the great proportion of lawful reserves subject to transfer from the country and reserve banks.

Consider the number of country banks for which these larger banks are the approved reserve agents, and the way the system has been worked to gather up the money of the country by these big group banks can be understood. One Standard Oil bank is approved agent to receive deposits of lawful money reserves from 1,071 national banks scattered over the country. Another bank of the same group receives reserve deposits from 1,802 country banks, and another from 478. A leading Morgan group bank receives deposits from 909 outside banks, and another from 615, and still another from 1,233.

The power which the New York banks derive through these vast accumulations of the resources of other national banks strengthens their position so that they could draw in the surplus money of all the other financial institutions of the country, state, private, and savings banks and trust companies.

Evidence of Speculation by Banks

The ability of these group banks of New York through their connected interests to engage in underwriting, to finance promotion schemes, where the profits resulting from overcapitalization represent hundreds of millions of dollars, places them beyond let or hindrance from competitors elsewhere in the country. Their ability to take advantage of conditions in Wall Street, even if they did not create these conditions, forcing interest rates on call loans as high as 150 per cent, would enable them to command, almost at will, the capital of the country for these speculative purposes.

But one result could follow. Floating the stocks and bonds in overcapitalized transportation, traction, mining, and industrial organizations does not create wealth, but it does absorb capital. Through the agency of these great groups hundreds of millions of dollars of the wealth of the country have been tied up. Other hundreds of millions have been drawn upon to supply these great speculating groups in their steadily increasing Wall street business.

Financial Banking Supplanting Commercial Banking

The plain truth is that legitimate commercial banking is being eaten up by financial banking. The greatest banks of the financial center of the country have ceased to be agents of commerce and have become primarily agencies of promotion and speculation. By merging the largest

banks, trust companies, and insurance companies masses of capital have been brought under one management, to be employed not as the servant of commerce, but as its master; not to supply legitimate business and to facilitate exchange, but to subordinate the commercial demands of the country upon the banks to call loans in Wall Street and to finance industrial organizations, always speculative, and often unlawful in character. Trained men, who a dozen years ago stood first among the bankers of the world as heads of the greatest banks of New York City, are, in the main, either displaced or do the bidding of men who are not bankers, but masters of organization.

With this enormous concentration of business it is possible to create, artificially, periods of prosperity and periods of panic. Prices can be lowered or advanced at the will of the "System." When the farmer must move his crops a scarcity of money may be created and prices lowered. When the crop passes into the control of the speculator the artificial stringency may be relieved and prices advanced, and the illegitimate profit raked off the agricultural industry may be pocketed in Wall Street.

If an effort is made to compel any one of these great "interests" to obey the law, it is easy for them to enter a conspiracy to destroy whoever may be responsible for the undertaking.

The business of the country is transacted by corporations and combinations of corporations. The control of corporations rests of necessity with a board of directors, the executive committee, and the officers of the organization. It is therefore only necessary to take the great controlling transportation and business organizations of the country, analyze the directorates, and the truth is ascertained. When the most significant names in the Standard Oil-Morgan groups are distributed with their all-powerful influence on the boards of directors controlling in a broad way transportation, industrial institutions, mining, iron and steel, coal, gas, electric light, shipping, copper, and other natural products and the industrial life resting upon them, together with the great insurance companies, and an overbalancing control of the banking institutions of the country, no amount of denunciation and personal abuse, from whatever source it may come, can by any possibility obscure the facts. So long as the official records of these controlling bodies stand as published to-day, the proof stands, and the case is made.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Demand for a Parcels Post

By WILLIAM SULZER
Congressman from New York

LARGER PACKAGES CAN BE MAILED AT LESS COST FROM ABROAD THAN AT HOME—OUR CITIZENS SHOULD HAVE THE SAME ADVANTAGES—TIME FOR CONGRESS TO ACT.

The neglect of the United States government to establish a general parcels post has so far limited the easy exchange of commodities and merchandise between the producer and the consumer that is is making our government appear away behind the times as compared with foreign nations, such, for instance, as England, France, and Germany.

Larger Packages Can Be Mailed at Less Cost from Abroad Than at Home

It is a fact to-day that an American in Europe can send home by mail to any part of the United States a parcel weighing two and one-half times more than the United States limit for about one-third less in cost than the present home rates. In other words, the world postal union package unit is eleven pounds to the parcel, at the rate of twelve cents per pound, whereas the United States unit is only four pounds to the package and at a cost of sixteen cents to the pound. The parcels-post rate in the United



ANYTHING FOR ME?

(Yes—but not much. Congress has just made a small appropriation for an experimental parcels post.)—From *Minneapolis Journal*.

States prior to 1874 was eight cents per pound for a package limited to a weight of four pounds. After that the rate was doubled, but the weight remained the same. Who did this? For whose benefit was it done? Look up the records and judge for yourself. Since 1874 the cost of transportation has greatly decreased. The question is, Why should not the people be given the benefit of this decrease by the establishment of a uniform low postal rate for parcels that will encourage the use of the post office as a medium of exchange of commodities between producer and consumer and thus greatly facilitate trade and lessen the cost of the necessities of life?

Our Citizens Should Have the Same Advantages

There is no reason in the world why the people of the United States should be deprived of the advantages of this benign legislation for a general parcels post, that will bring producers and consumers in closer touch and be of inestimable benefit to all the people, especially those who dwell in the large cities and live in the producing sections of the country. It has been adopted in every European country, and it ought to be adopted here. We have either made or are making postal conventions with the countries of the world, by which their citizens can send through the mails to any part of the United States packages weighing eleven pounds at the universal postal rate, and the people of the United States are prohibited from doing the same thing because of our failure to enact a similar postal parcels law. It is a great injustice to the taxpayers of this country. It is a discrimination in favor of the foreigner against the citizen of the United States which is repugnant to my sense of justice.

Time for Congress to Act

The time is now at hand for Congress to heed the insistent demand of the people for a general parcels post along the lines of my bill, the express companies, the trusts, the jobbers, and others to the contrary notwithstanding.

The citizens of the United States are certainly entitled to utilize the advantages of their own post-office system the same as the people in Europe now do, and they would gladly do so if the Congress would only enact a law, and to this end I appeal to all patriotic citizens to lend a helping hand to pass my bill.

The demand for a parcels post is growing more insistent. Popular sentiment has now crystallized in a genuine desire for legislation in favor of a general parcels post throughout the country. I believe the people favor it, and I feel confident its establishment will be of inestimable benefit and incalculable advantage to all concerned. The post office is one of the oldest of governmental institutions, an agency established by the earliest civilizations, and the only limit upon the service should be the capacity of existing transport machinery.

A general parcels post, once established with reasonable rates, regardless of distance, regardless of the character of the matter transported,

and regardless of the volume of the patron's business, is eminently fitted for great service to the people. That it should be extended over the entire field of postal transportation is absolutely certain; and the people will duly appreciate the aid of those who assist in its extension and development. As far back as 1837, Rowland Hill, of England, promulgated to the world the law that once a public transport service is in operation, the cost of its use is regardless the distance traversed upon the moving machinery by any unit of traffic within its capacity, and upon this law he established the English penny-letter post of 1839. The idea of charging higher postage on a letter or a parcel on account of the greater distance it travels is an absurdity.

It is because I realize the force of these truths so keenly that I am so persistent in urging favorable consideration of my bill for a general parcels post. Its only fault, in my opinion, is its conservatism. What this country now needs, what Congress should give it, is a general parcels post covering much of the business of public transportation. Sooner or later it will be the law. The people want it, and it is bound to come.

CHAPTER XXVII

What the Single Tax Is Doing

By HENRY GEORGE, JR.

Congressman from New York

IN PROGRESSIVE JAPAN—TAXING LAND VALUES IN GERMANY—IN AUSTRALIA
—VANCOUVER—THE BRITISH BUDGET FIGHT—WHAT OF THIS COUNTRY?
—THE ANTHRACITE COAL TRUST—THE CANONS OF TAXATION.

I am a single taxer. I do not believe in taxes upon any kind of industry, or upon anything that comes from industry. I believe the whole burden of taxation—federal, state, and municipal—should fall upon monopoly. I believe it should fall upon the mother of all monopolies: upon the earth; upon that value which comes to any piece of land not by reason of the toil of its owner—for all improvements should be exempted—but from the development of the community; from social growth and social improvement.

That part of New York City known as Manhattan Borough, Manhattan Island, comprises land officially valued at more than three thousand million dollars. The island was bought from the Indians by Dutch traders in the seventeenth century for twenty-four dollars worth of calico and glass beads. Yet now that same piece of land stands on the tax books at three thousand millions. That is the official value of the ground alone. It does not include the value of buildings or other improvements of any kind. Who made the increase in value from twenty-four dollars to three thousand million dollars—who but all the people? The coming of population did part; the birth of babies did part; the laying out of streets, the making of great public improvements, the general toil, the building this island into a great center of production, of manufacturing and trade, made parts. Social growth and social improvement brought the value to that piece of land. Why should it not be taken into the public treasury for social uses? Why not abolish all other taxes and take by taxation this publicly-made value for the uses of government—municipal, state, and federal?

In Progressive Japan

In progressive Japan, for instance, they have just made a substantial advance in this method of taxation. It has come through the simple process of a better valuation of the land. Japan has great need of revenue.

Where get it? The premier, Marshal Marquis Katsura, found the

way. He put through the Diet an act for a new valuation of the lands of the cities. The cities had grown enormously in the last four decades. Individuals had made fortunes out of rising land values. The land tax rate was very small and there had been no revaluation in thirty-five years. His act called for a new valuation. It was made; and, the same tax rate being applied, brought a handsome increase in the revenue.

Taxing Land Values In Germany

In Germany the constant cry has been for more revenue. It has been the problem of practical statesmen, such as faces every legislature in the world. How raise enough revenue? It had long been realized that land was valued in Germany following methods of the Middle Ages. The value was determined by the yield of the land, not its market price. The small farmer's land and the small merchant's land yielded a relatively large produce; therefore it was valued high. The great lord's parks and hunting grounds and the speculator's unimproved tracts about a growing city yielded little or no produce; therefore that land was set at a low valuation. Various of the German states had authorized their municipalities to make new valuations, abandoning this yield-of-the-land process and adopting the market-price method. It worked admirably. It brought in revenue and discouraged the holding of idle lands. The Reichstag followed that same line.

In Australasia

But it is when we turn to the people of our own stock and language—to the people in the antipodes, for instance—that we see how easily this principle of taxation might be applied to our conditions in this country; for in New Zealand they have many taxes, but they raise one-sixth of their revenue by a tax on land values. In determining this value they consider ground alone—what the political economists call the “economic rent of land.” It is that value attaching to a given piece of land exclusive of any value of improvements upon it.

In Australia they have what Henry D. Lloyd called the “Australian tax.” It is merely a small ground-value tax. It was resorted to to hit the speculators who went in advance of the pioneers, acquiring the land and holding it against use until they got their price. They would not use it themselves; they would allow others to use it only at the price of being bought out. They penalized production.

Vancouver

Up north of us, in Vancouver, British Columbia, they have applied what is called the “single tax.” So far as local revenues are concerned, it is a single tax; but it is not the single tax I am advocating, since it is very small in amount—not sufficient to check the great land “boom” now in progress there in consequence of the exemption of buildings and all other improvements from taxation.

The city began some years ago by exempting twenty-five per cent of the value of improvements from taxation. That worked so well that fifty per cent were exempted. Then they exempted seventy-five per cent; and for two years, I think it is, they have entirely removed improvements from the tax rolls.

As a result, Vancouver has increased in improvements faster than any city in the world. I was informed by Mayor Taylor during a visit there that the increase in Vancouver's improvements during the last year was eighty-seven per cent. There being no tax on buildings or other things a man might put on his land, industry and thrift are encouraged.

The idea of exempting improvements from taxation is spreading all through western Canada. Wherever tried, it is working most prosperously. And nowhere, in Canada, Australia, or anywhere else, is there the least disposition to go back to the old taxes.

The British Budget Fight

But it is to Great Britain that we must turn for the most extraordinary instance of advancement along this line. The budget fight, of which the world has heard, was nothing but a fight with landlords over a tax upon land values. The Right Hon. Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, framed the budget and led the fight. His budget contained a slight difference. It was a little bit of an item—a tax to fall on land values. The tax was divided into two parts: A part was to fall upon the value of land at the time of its sale; the other part was to be an annual charge.

When presenting his budget to Parliament, Lloyd George explained that, preceding the laying of the tax, there would have to be a revaluation of the land of the United Kingdom; that some had not been valued since the time the Stuarts were kings; and that some stood valued as it was in the days when the Norman William crossed the channel and took the crown from the Saxon Harold.

The matter of valuing was not to be done by public officials, as is our common practice. Under the budget it was to be done by the landlords themselves. They were to make out schedules upon which the tax would be imposed. Upon a valuation so derived he proposed in the first instance to lay a tax of one-fifth of one per cent!

There was the other part of the budget proposition. The government proposed to take note of the valuation any owner should make for taxation purposes, and again when the land should be sold at any time afterwards. Should the value at the sale show any increase over the value made for taxation purposes, the government was to treat it as an "unearned increment"—that is, as unearned by the landlord. Of this "unearned increment" the government was to take twenty per cent.

So here we have the way made clear to us. The great people from whom our institutions have come, from whose loins the body of our people originally sprang, have fought down any proposal to return to protectionism; they have reduced income taxation, and in furious political conflict they have laid the foundations for taxing land monopoly.

What of This Country?

Why should we in this country not go to land values for all our revenues? We get part there; why not all? Abolish the tariff and other taxes on production and increase our present taxation on land values. If the older countries find it good, if the newer parts of the world, Australia and Canada, find it good, why should not this country find it good?

Is there in any part of the world a greater, more damaging, more damning kind of land monopoly than in this country? Can you find in any part of the world landlords so mighty? Where will you find, among the peerage of Europe, dukes or earls or counts or viscounts so powerful from their landed possessions as are simple citizens of our country?

A steel trust has vast possessions. Those possessions form the very core of its monopoly. An oil trust has great landed possessions—vast possessions, of which it chooses to use only a small part, shutting all the rest off from use by anybody. You will find the roots of most of the trusts in land monopoly. Why not apply the single tax? All the revenue raised in this country—federal, state, local—amounts in round numbers to \$2,000,000,000 a year. The ground-rent roll of the country probably approximates four thousand millions, so that there is an ample source of revenue for all needs.

The Anthracite Coal Trust

Take the Anthracite Coal Trust in Pennsylvania. It possesses practically all of the hard-coal land of the state. Nature has put into eastern Pennsylvania a great deposit of hard coal. It has been the business of the anthracite railroad companies, beginning with the Reading Railroad years ago, to get possession of these deposits by purchase, by long lease, and by contract for the carriage of the coal. These railroads acting together have in these ways got control of the hard coal of all eastern Pennsylvania. The purpose has not been to mine coal. It has been, rather, *not to mine coal*. Their purpose has been to limit the output and to force up the price of coal—to work only part of their land, a small part, and to let the remainder lie idle, as though it did not exist, and to keep others from the use of it. Why could they do that? There was no tax upon it, no penalty on their doing it. The law does not discourage it; nor does even public opinion. People do not realize that it could and should be stopped; that it could be absolutely destroyed by the simple process of taxation. The law of Pennsylvania requires a tax on the market value of that land. The actual practice is not to assess at the market value, which would be as valuable mineral land. The practice is to assess it as inferior agricultural land. Then, the tax upon that preposterously low valuation is very small, so that these great coal barons go practically without taxation upon their holdings.

But if we were to make an absolute market value and put that upon the tax books, and then increase the tax upon that valuation, you would see whether the Anthracite Trust could hold its lands idle or keep the price of its coal high. Its purpose then would not be to make a scarcity

in output in order to put up prices and keep down the wages of labor by limiting opportunities for employment. A heavy tax upon the real market value of these lands would compel their use. Their use would mean more demand for labor. The price of labor would go up in the hard-coal regions. Because of the larger output of coal, the price of coal would go down. Consumers in the United States would get cheaper coal. Laborers in the coal regions would have higher wages, shorter hours, and God knows their little boys would not have to work in the breakers or their little girls go into the silk mills to help get the family subsistence.

The Canons of Taxation

I believe that this single tax would meet better than any other form of taxation the four canons of taxation. It is the most equal tax. It falls upon men according to the natural bounties they have in their possession. The man who has little pays little. The man who has much pays much, so that it is the most equal kind of a tax.

Then it is certain. It is not intermittent and wavering. It falls regularly, so that all dependent matters can be arranged accordingly.

In the next place, it is direct. It can not be shifted. It stays where it falls. There can be no addition of this tax to the value of the land. The landowners are getting as much as they can get now. They are not waiting for taxation to put up the price of their land. On the contrary, any proposal to put a tax on values immediately causes a discouragement on the part of some owners who have idle lands, and the tendency is for the price of land to go down. This tax can be seen. It is not the kind of a tax that falls and no man knoweth how much or where. There lies the land and there lies the value and there falls the tax.

And then it is the most economical tax in its incidence. It lays no burden beyond the revenue received from it. It is cheap in the collection. This tax is not like a tariff tax. That falls upon things coming into the country. To the extent of the tax and the volume of the things so imported is the revenue that goes into the public treasury. But the tax on imports enables an increase in the price of similar commodities made in this country. There is not a cent of revenue from this home production. In the case of the tax on land values, the more the tax the less the speculation, and, therefore, the lower the price of land. So that in application, it is the most economical of all taxes.

But what are we doing to rise to these opportunities? We have instituted a condition by which a few own the country. A few here, a few there, practically control villages, towns, cities, counties, and almost whole states. We have a landlordism greater than anything conceived in Great Britain or Germany or in the Orient. We have the greatest landlords that have ever been seen. Should we apply taxation to land values so as to break down land monopoly and throw open the soil of our country to our fast-growing population, a prosperity will come such as will dumbfound mankind and give to America the glory of carrying civilization to a point higher than ever reached in the destinies of the race.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Oregon System of Popular Government

BY JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.
United States Senator from Oregon

BALLOT AND REGISTRATION LAWS—INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM—STATE PUBLISHES PUBLICITY PAMPHLETS—DIRECT PRIMARY LAW—PARTY INTEGRITY PROTECTED—POPULAR VOTE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR—CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

Time was when a few self-constituted leaders in Oregon politics arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of government and made their assumption effective through illicit combinations and the use of money in any and every quarter where necessary to their purposes of control—that is, they commercialized conventions, legislatures, and the administrative branches of the city, county, and state government. It was not a condition peculiar to Oregon. It obtained, and I believe still obtains in a more or less flagrant degree, in every state in the Union; and it had its boldest, most unscrupulous executive genius in Boss Tweed, who, recognizing the opportunity of the crook in government by party through convention nominations, declared he did not care who elected the candidates so long as he had the power to nominate the ticket.

Revolting against these conditions, the state has evolved the best-known system of popular government, and, because of this conviction, I take this opportunity of presenting a brief analysis of the Oregon laws bearing upon this question, with my own deductions as to the improvement they show and the merits they possess.

Ballot and Registration Laws

Oregon in 1891 adopted the Australian ballot, which insures secrecy, prevents intimidation, and reduces the opportunity for bribery. This, of course, is a prerequisite to any form of popular government.

Supplementing the Australian ballot law, Oregon enacted in 1899 a registration law applying to general elections and enlarged its scope in 1904 in the law creating a direct primary. This law requires registration prior to voting in either the general or the primary election, and provides that before voting in a party primary the voter must, under oath, register his party affiliation.

Upon the registration books are entered the full name of the voter, his registration number, date of registration, his occupation, age, nativity, date and place of naturalization, if any, and his place of residence. In order to guard against fraud, it is required that the voter shall give his street and number, and if he is not the head of the house he occupies, he must show that fact and give the number of the room he occupies and upon what floor of the building it is located. He must also sign the register, if he can write. If he is unable to write his name, the reason must be given. If his inability is due to a physical defect, the nature of the infirmity must be noted. If it is due to illiteracy, a physical description of the man must be noted in the register.

All these facts are entered in precinct registers, which are placed in the hands of election judges and clerks on election day, so that illegal voting may be prevented.

Any registered voter may be challenged and every non-registered voter is considered challenged. An unregistered person qualified as an elector may be permitted to vote upon signing an affidavit setting forth all the facts required in registration and also securing the affidavits of six owners of real property to the effect that they personally know him and his residence and believe all his statements to be true.

Thus the greatest boon of American citizenship, namely, the right to participate in government, is protected, and dead men, repeaters, and non-residents can no longer be voted in Oregon.

Initiative and Referendum

Oregon's next step in popular government was the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which amendment was adopted in June, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. It provides that legislative authority shall be vested in a legislative assembly, but that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. An initiative petition must be signed by eight per cent of the legal voters, as shown by the vote for supreme judge at the last preceding general election, and filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election.

A referendum petition need be signed by only five per cent of the voters and filed with the secretary of state within ninety days after final adjournment of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The legislature may itself refer to the people any act passed by it. The veto power of the governor does not extend to any measure referred to the people.

State Publishes Publicity Pamphlets

In addition to the publicity incident to the circulation of the petitions, the law provides that the secretary of state shall, at the expense of the state, mail to every registered voter in the state a printed pamphlet

containing a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted to the people, and the proponents and opponents of the law have the right to insert in said pamphlet, at the actual cost to themselves of paper and printing only, such arguments as they see fit to make. These pamphlets must be mailed not later than fifty-five days before a general election and twenty days before a special election.

The initiative develops the electorate, placing directly upon them the responsibility for legislation enacted under its provision; the referendum elevates the legislature because of the possibility of its use in case of undesirable legislation. Brains, ideas, and arguments, rather than money, intimidation, and logrolling, govern the standards of legislation.

Corporation attorneys must exercise their mental activities along constructive rather than destructive and avoidance lines. Possibility of scandal is minimized, recipients of franchises freed from the imputation of secret purchase, and general community confidence is secured.

Direct Primary Law

The next step after the adoption of the initiative and referendum was the adoption in 1904, by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354, of a direct primary law, which is designed to supersede the old and unsatisfactory convention system. The Oregon direct primary law provides for a primary election to be held forty-five days prior to the general election at the usual polling places and with the usual three election judges and three clerks in charge, appointed by the county courts. Not more than two judges or clerks can be members of the same political party. Two sets of ballots are provided, one for the Democratic party and one for the Republican party. Any party polling twenty-five per cent of the vote at the previous election is brought under the provisions of the direct primary law, but thus far only the Democratic and Republican parties are affected by it.

Any legal voter may become a candidate in the primaries for nomination for any office by filing a petition signed by a certain per cent of the voters of his party. If the nomination is for a municipal or county office, the petition must include registered electors residing in at least one-fifth of the voting precincts of the county, municipality, or district. If it be a state or district office and the district comprises more than one county the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-eighth of the precincts in at least two counties in the district. If it be an office to be voted for in the state at large the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least seven counties of the state. If it be an office to be voted for in a congressional district the petition must include electors residing in at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least one-fourth of the counties in the district. The number of signers required is at least two per cent of the party vote in the electoral district, but not more than 1,000 signers are required for a state or congressional office nor are more than 500 required in any other case.

Party Integrity Protected

No voter is required to designate his party affiliation in order to vote at the general election, but registration of party affiliation is a prerequisite to participation in a party primary. This requirement prevents the participation of members of one party in the primaries of another party. The right of each party to choose its own candidates is thus protected, and an evil all too common where restrictive party primary laws are not in force is avoided.

Our direct-primary law further provides that the candidate in his petition shall, among other things, agree to "accept the nomination and will not withdraw;" and, if elected, "will qualify as an officer," implying, of course, that he will also serve. Each candidate is entitled to have placed in his petition a statement in not to exceed one hundred words, and on the ballot, after his name, a legend in not to exceed twelve words, setting forth any measures or principles he especially advocates.

Popular Vote for United States Senator

The law further provides that United States Senators may be nominated by their respective parties in the party primaries, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes thereby becomes the party nominee. Then, in the general election the party nominees are voted for by the people, and the individual receiving the greatest number of votes in the general election thereby becomes the people's choice for United States Senator.

Corrupt Practices Act

The next step in popular government in Oregon after the adoption of the direct primary law was the adoption of a corrupt practices act, which the legislature had refused to enact, but which the people of the state adopted under the initiative. It provides that no candidate for office shall expend in his campaign for nomination more than fifteen per cent of one year's compensation of the office for which he is a candidate provided that no candidate shall be restricted to less than one hundred dollars.

The act provides, however, for the publication of a pamphlet by the secretary of state for the information of voters, in which pamphlet a candidate in the primary campaign may have published a statement setting forth his qualifications, the principles and policies he advocates and favors, or any other matter he may wish to submit in support of his candidacy. Each candidate must pay for at least one page, the amount to be paid varying from one hundred dollars for the highest office to ten dollars for the minor offices. Every candidate may secure the use of additional pages at one hundred dollars per page, not exceeding three additional pages. Any person may use space in this pamphlet in opposition to any candidate, the matter submitted by him being first served upon the candidate and the space being paid for the same as in the case of candidates. The matter submitted in opposition to candidates must be signed by the

author, who is subject to the general laws regarding slander and libel. Information regarding state and congressional candidates is printed in a pamphlet issued by the secretary of state, one copy being mailed to each registered voter in the state. Pamphlets regarding county candidates are issued by the county clerk and mailed to each voter in the county.

Prior to the general election the executive committee or managing officers of any political party or organization may file with the secretary of state portrait cuts of its candidates and typewritten statements and arguments for the success of its principles and the election of its candidates and opposing or attacking the principles and candidates of all other parties. This same privilege applies to independent candidates. These statements and arguments are printed in a pamphlet and mailed to the registered voters of the state not later than the tenth day before the general election.

Each party is limited to twenty-four pages, and each independent candidate to two pages, each page in this pamphlet being charged for at the rate of fifty dollars per page. In the campaign preceding the general election each candidate is limited in campaign expenditures to ten per cent of one year's compensation.

The Recall

The final step in the establishment of popular government in Oregon was the adoption of the recall amendment to the constitution, which was adopted in 1908 by a vote of 58,381 to 31,002. Under this amendment any public officer may be recalled by the filing of a petition signed by twenty-five per cent of the number of electors who voted in his district in the preceding election. The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall, and if the officer does not resign within five days after the petition is filed a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days to determine whether the people will recall such officer. On the ballot at such election the reasons for demanding the recall of said officer may be set forth in not more than two hundred words. His justification of his course in office may be set forth in a like number of words. He retains his office until the results of the special election have been officially declared.

No petition can be circulated against any officer until he has held office six months, except that in the case of a member of the state legislature it may be filed at any time after five days from the beginning of the first session after his election. At the special election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected. The special election is held at public expense, but a second recall petition can not be filed against an officer unless the petitioners first pay the entire expense of the first recall election.

CHAPTER XXIX

Two Kinds of Government—Open Vs. the Closed Kind

By HIRAM W. JOHNSON
Governor of California

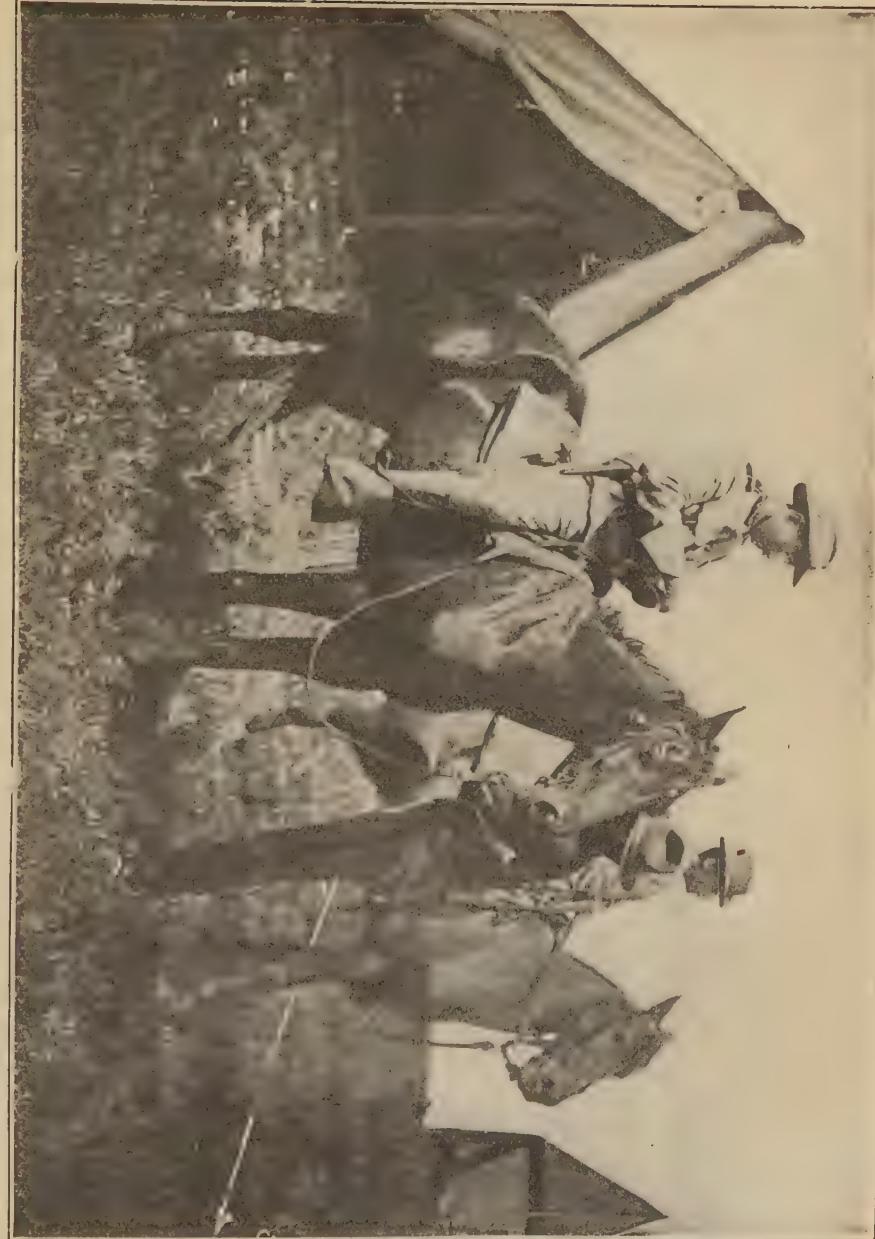
SOME OF THE THINGS ACCOMPLISHED—DIRECT PRIMARY LAW IMPROVED—
A REAL RAILROAD BILL—INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT ACT—BOARD OF
CONTROL—PICKING THE STATE'S POCKET—SOUTHERN PACIFIC FIXED
ITS OWN RATES—HUMANITARIAN LEGISLATION—REFORMATORY FOR
FIRST OFFENDERS—THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

There are two kinds of government. There is the sort of government that governs in secret, the whisperings of which no man knows. That is the sort of government that governs so that the people are unaware of the particular influences that really act in the matters submitted to that government. There is the other kind that governs in the open and that takes into its confidence the people of the state all the time; and it is the latter kind of government that the state of California has to-day, and its chief executive is all over the state of California ready to give to all the people of all the state a detailed account of the stewardship of the present administration.

Some of the Things Accomplished

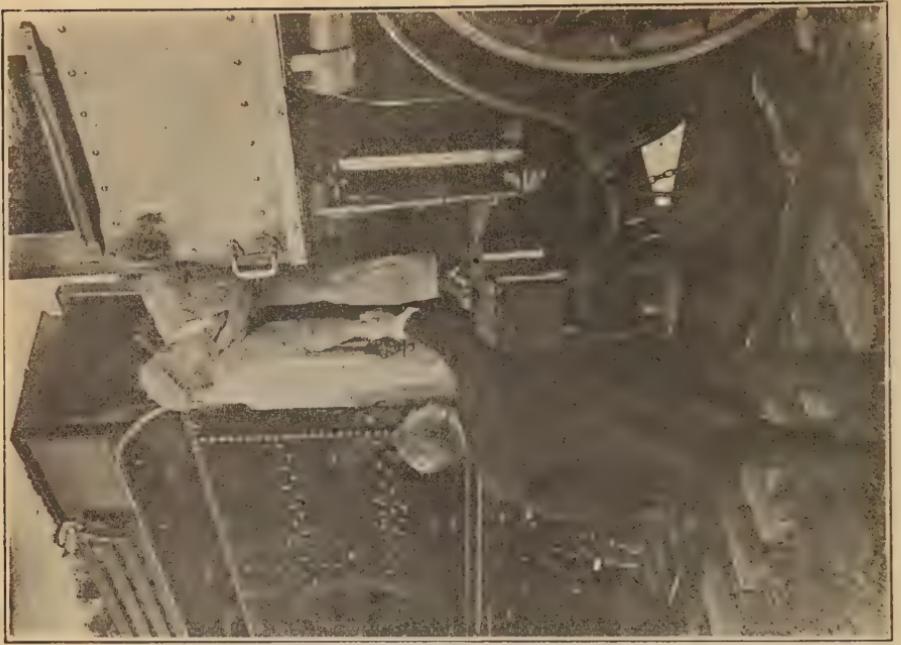
When those who were chosen to represent the people, in the regeneration of California, went to Sacramento, we went with one well defined purpose, in the first instance. We went there to make the service of the state of California the service of the state of California rather than the service of any particular interest or any particular corporation or any particular faction. Among the political reforms that we have endeavored to carry out in the state of California, were those to which all parties really stood pledged and concerning which I might make one passing mention. We restored the Australian ballot to its original form, or, as we used to say, its pristine purity, so that now the citizens will vote with that ballot just as they voted when first it was introduced. We made the election of judges upon that Australian ballot non-partisan in character, so that, following the name of any judicial nominee to-day there will be no designation of political affiliation of any character.

Photo by Wm. H. Rau.



COLONEL ROOSEVELT DURING THE SPANISH WAR

The intrepid New Yorker organized his famous Rough Riders and led them through the campaign in Cuba, with signal credit to himself and them.



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood.

SHAKING HANDS WITH THE ENGINEER
Mr. Roosevelt's democratic spirit was demonstrated during his presidency by greeting the driver of his train after each



Photo by Pictorial News Co.

OFF TO CHOP WOOD AT OYSTER BAY
Photo by Pictorial News Co.

Mr. Roosevelt's home is at Oyster Bay, Long Island, not far from New York, where he lives the simple life of a country

Direct Primary Law Improved

We amended the direct primary law so that those quirks and twists and turns and knots and bugs and jobs that had been shoved into it two years before were taken out of it; and we put into that direct primary law provisions by which in reality hereafter, by a state wide vote, we may elect United States senators by direct vote of the people, fashioned upon the Oregon plan.

These matters that I have adverted to may be asserted as political reforms.

A Real Railroad Bill

The economic field in the state was a broad and fertile one, either for investigation or for real accomplishment. And so we passed a railroad bill that had real teeth in it, not the sort of bill that had been passed by the prior legislature, but a bill that gave to the Railroad Commission the amplest powers that the state could under the circumstances accord it. And that it might be in position hereafter to be just what it was intended to be when it was provided for by the Constitution of 1879, the real bulwark between the people of the state on one hand and corporate aggression on the other, we have presented constitutional amendments, and we ask that they be passed, so that this Railroad Commission may give not only the square deal to every corporation that comes within its jurisdiction but may at least in the state of California give to the people of the state of California a square deal.

Industrial Accident Act

We have presented to the people what was termed by its author an industrial accident act. It is designed, as between employer and employee, to do equal, full, complete, speedy and summary justice. It is designed, where the employee has been injured in the course of his employment, to afford him a means, without the hampering of the tortuous proceedings of a law suit that now would require the expenditure of money that he could ill afford, and without interposing those technical defenses to which I cannot in detail refer—to give to that employee the right to receive just compensation, without unduly mulcting the employer, for an injury incurred in the course of that employee's work.

We believed that in the state of California there were yet many of the resources of this state that might be preserved for all of the people and for those who were to follow, and we adopted a conservation commission and laws for that commission by which the natural resources of the state might be conserved and preserved for all the people and for those that follow those now in existence.

Again, as men, by united effort, had obtained for themselves restricted hours of labor, we were willing to accord and did accord to weak women the right to an eight-hour day as well; we gave to those who are working upon the railroads and for the transportation companies of the state what is known as the full train crew bill, and we gave to the men engaged in

hazardous occupation of that sort a limited day, limited to sixteen hours, and contested, we believe, in some directions.

We gave to the people of the state, for the first time in the history of the state, a law regulating weights and measures, which ultimately will enable every man and every woman to get that which he or she really buys and just as much as she or he shall pay for.

Board of Control

We adopted a particular organization within the state that was termed the Board of Control, with supervisory power over the institutions of the state and the contracts that the state might enter into. We gave this Board the right to look into every state institution in the state, to look into its purchasing power, to look to see, indeed, that honesty obtained in all of the branches of the state government and that the business of the state should be conducted just exactly as the business of a private individual. And let me tell some of the results of that Board of Control and that particular power and that particular design of business administration in the state of California.

Picking the State's Pocket

The first thing was when a secretary of state ran into the Board of Control with a contract for \$1,800 worth of ballot paper that the Board of Control purchased within three days for \$1,050. That was a minor and a small item.

Then when the lighting in the state buildings and grounds in the city of Sacramento came to be let, we let it for one and seven-eighth cents per kilowatt hour as against four and five that had been paid for a decade past.

We went with the Board of Control into the state printing office to ascertain just exactly why it was that exorbitant rates were paid for all sorts of merchandise used there and why it was that every single household in the state had its pocket picked in the matter of the purchase of text books. And when we came to bids for text book paper on the first day of July, we asked the various bidders of the state to come and make their bids, with the result that we are paying to-day for text book paper one-third less than has been paid by the state of California for many, many years in the past. This year it will make text books manufactured by the state cost one-third less to the people.

We went into the ink department there. We found them paying \$2.50 for their printer's ink; and upon investigation and the receipt of bids we obtained ink for fifty cents, just one-fifth of what the people have been paying for that ink for twenty years past at the state printing office.

In the harbor board at San Francisco we found exactly the same situation, and by putting a purchasing agent in charge who had our undivided allegiance, our purchases amount to \$5,000 a month less than they amounted to under the previous administration.

Southern Pacific Fixed Its Own Rates

We began to look into the rates that were paid by the transportation companies upon the harbor front. We found pigeonholed up in the office of one of the old commissioners a schedule of rates to be paid by the Southern Pacific Company, and that schedule was fixed by a distinguished gentleman named Jerry Burke, who has been doing politics for the Southern Pacific in that section of the state and in the legislature for many years in the past. And so, by a commission of real estate men appointed to appraise the values, the rates of transportation companies upon the harbor were raised, the rates to shippers were lowered and the income derived by the harbor is \$140,000 a year in excess of what was realized in the times past and under previous administrations.

We found that we were paying one, two and three times more for staples in some institutions than in others. And the Board of Control has corrected that all over the state.

Humanitarian Legislation

We went to the state prisons of the state and there, finding that the great problem in penology was to give activity to the idle hands and the idle, festering brains of those confined there, we endeavored to remedy that particular defect by providing that the prisoners of the state should manufacture all of those articles that are used by the state, the county, the municipality, or the district; and thus we accomplished two purposes: The first and the prime one was furnishing labor, activity, mental and physical, to the men confined, giving them something by which, when their terms of penalization shall have expired, they might be enabled, if they desired, to become decent members of society. The second purpose was to provide revenue, and I think it is no idle boast when I say to you that by the expiration of this particular executive's term of office the state prisons of the state of California will be wholly self-supporting, for the first time, of course, in our history.

Reformatory for First Offenders

There was another kind of reform in that direction that we thought might be accomplished. There are certain people who take the first false step, either because of liquor or companionship that is bad, or even because of poverty. They commit the first sin and they pay the penalty, and we believed that those committing their first offense should be kept separate from the hardened criminal. So we have provided a reformatory for first offenders, where, with a great tract of land, where agricultural pursuits may be taught, we may be enabled to reclaim and redeem those who for the first time have stepped over the line and have been guilty of infractions of the law.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall

We knew, of course, that danger always lurked in a legislature, and that a legislature might sometimes meet that would not pass legislation

that you desired. And so we cast about for the method by which, if any legislature in the future refused to do the bidding of the people of the state, the people should not be wholly remediless; and, of course, we took that particular governmental policy that has stood the test in other localities and other jurisdictions, and we resolved that we would give to the people of this state the initiative, so that they might, whenever they saw fit, legislate for themselves upon any subject. And that's all the initiative is.

But it is necessary, too, that if a legislature was about to pass some law that was inimical to the people's interests that we should provide some means by which they could say to that legislature, "We don't want that law," and so that they might take it unto themselves, and themselves pass upon the law that they believed to be inimical. And so it was that we passed the amendment relating to the referendum, so that, if any legislature in the future should endeavor to pass some bill that the people believed to be bad, they might say to that legislature, "We will take care of that particular measure; we will submit it to the people of the state of California, and we will let the people of the state pass upon it."

But it was not enough that we should give the people merely the right of legislation or the right of checking legislation or the right of voting upon pending legislation. It was necessary that we should give them the right to retain forever the power over those who represented them, that we might give them in your aggregate capacity just what they have in their individual capacity, the control of their agents and their trustees, the right whenever they see fit to dispense with those agents and those trustees, just what they have now in their private concerns. And so it was that the recall was passed by the legislature and submitted to the people of the state.

CHAPTER XXX

Why Women Should Have Equal Suffrage

By JOHN F. SHAFROTH

Governor of Colorado

WITHHOLDING THE BALLOT IS DESPOTISM—WOMEN WANT EQUAL SUFFRAGE—
WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS EXPEDIENT—PRODUCES BETTER NOMINATIONS—
HIGHER WAGES FROM SUFFRAGE—WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS PRACTICABLE—
RESPECT FOR WOMEN.

An eminent writer has said that all powers of government are either delegated or assumed; that all powers not delegated are assumed, and that all assumed powers are usurpations.

The powers of government by men over women are not delegated powers, because the women never delegated such powers to men. Such powers by men, then, are assumed, and as all assumed powers are usurpations, the exercise of the powers of government by men over women is usurpation. How can those who refuse to give women the right to vote reconcile their opinion with the form of government in which they believe?

Lincoln's statement that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other man's consent," even the antisuffragist recognizes as a truth applicable to men. As women are human beings, why is it not applicable to them? Where did man get the right to make all the laws governing women, except by the assumption of that power?

We all remember Lincoln's declaration that "when the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

Withholding the Ballot Is Despotism

The exercise of any power of government not emanating from the consent of the governed, therefore, is despotism. After men, by an assumption of power, have attached the elective franchise to themselves, is it an answer to the demand of women for equal suffrage to say that we men have concluded that "suffrage is a privilege which attaches neither to man nor to woman by nature?"

Have we forgotten the cry of our forefathers, which stirred the blood of every patriotic American, that "taxation without representation is tyranny?" Why is it tyranny to men, but not to women? Should women

be denied the right to protect, by vote, their property from excessive tax incumbrances, when the right to encumber it by vote is given to men, some of whom can not read or write our language? Is it sufficient to say that "they are not the only persons taxed as property holders from whom the ballot is withheld," when the only persons from whom it is permanently withheld are lunatics, idiots, illiterates, and criminals? How would men like such reasoning applied to themselves?

The arrogance with which men assert that women have a sphere to which they should be confined must be galling to women of thought and action. Who gave man the right to determine woman's sphere without even consulting her? How chivalrous it is in him to determine for her such a momentous question! Or how easy it is to have it disposed of by the statement that "it is a mistake to suppose that any human reason or argument is needful or adequate to the assignment of the relative positions to be assumed by man and woman in working out the problems of civilization. This was done long ago by a higher intelligence than ours."

Hardly a question of importance has ever been presented but some people have sought to foreclose any argument by claiming that it was settled by the Almighty. How can this claim be reconciled with the fact that it has also been settled in Colorado and three other states, and in Australia, New Zealand, Norway, and some other countries? Had God nothing to do with settling it there?

In the days of slavery everyone heard the argument that the negro was not capable of taking care of himself; that it was better for him to have a master who would care for and protect him; that the patriarchs of old, the chosen men of God, had slaves, and therefore slavery had received the sanction of God and was a divine institution.

Abraham Lincoln said: "Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally." So whenever I hear men advocating the denial of rights to others I feel an impulse to see how they personally would appreciate the denial of those rights to themselves.

Women Want Equal Suffrage

Many assume that women do not want equal suffrage. That is no argument against woman's right to vote, even if it were true. Even prisoners become satisfied with their conditions.

If a majority of the men of a state, or the United States, should not care for the elective franchise, would the antisuffragist man be willing to be deprived of it? It is true that men have ridiculed so much the women who have advocated equal suffrage that it has had an effect upon many women; but notwithstanding this, the cause of woman suffrage has made a progress that is marvelous, contrasted with the sentiment of fifty years ago.

Do women want equal suffrage? Ask the women of Colorado. Submit to those who have tried it the question, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it. Colorado has had equal suffrage for sixteen years. The fact that no legislator has ever introduced in the general assembly of Colorado a bill to resubmit the question to the people shows

that there is no demand for any change in the elective franchise of that state. The principle of equal rights for women is as irrevocably determined in Colorado as the freedom of the negro is determined in the nation.

Woman Suffrage Is Expedient

The statement is made that even if every woman should exercise the suffrage, the votes of the thoughtful and conscientious would almost certainly be largely outweighed by those of the disreputable, the ignorant, the thoughtless, the purchased, and the coerced.

In that declaration the assumption is made that the bad and ignorant women are in the majority, which I most emphatically deny. Not more than one-half of 1 per cent of the women are immoral.

Once in a long while it is ascertained that a woman has been guilty of fraud in an election in Colorado, and the antisuffragists seem to go into spasms over the occurrence and urge it as a sure indication of the corrupting influence of women in politics. In reading of the exposure they totally ignore the fact contained in the same news item that there were ten men implicated with the woman in the fraud, and that the men put her up to it in order to divert suspicion from themselves.

If it is so potential an argument against woman suffrage that a few women have been implicated in election frauds, why is it not ten times as strong an argument against man suffrage when the facts will show that there were ten times as many men implicated in the same frauds as women?

Who are these women who, many seem to fear, will have a corrupting influence on elections if given the right to vote? They are our mothers, our wives, our sisters, and our daughters. Is there a man in high or low life, in moral or degraded position, who believes his mother, wife, sister, or daughter would be more corrupt than he in exercising the elective franchise?

Woman's influence has always been for good, and in no sphere has this been better demonstrated than in politics. The election polls since the advent of woman suffrage in Colorado, with the exception of a few in the low parts of the cities, have been transformed into as respectable places of meeting as dry goods stores or public halls. As a general rule the rowdy element, which was once wont to assemble at and remain around the polls all day, is wanting.

The precinct caucuses for primaries are usually held at the residences of the most respectable people. The restraining influence of the presence of women has greatly improved the tone of political conventions.

Produces Better Nominations

This influence has been felt most, perhaps, in the character of nominations made by each political party. Many men, after denouncing a candidate as dishonest and immoral before his nomination, support him at the election because they believe that they must have a consistent party record in order to get subsequent recognition from their party.

Women have no political records to keep consistent. Only in the

rarest instances are they candidates for office, and they more frequently vote against reprehensible candidates than men. In no instance has a woman in Colorado sought the nomination for any state office, except that of superintendent of public instruction, and often she has to be urged to allow her name to be presented to the convention for that office.

To such an extent is the moral influence of women felt that if an immoral candidate is mentioned, the argument is generally urged that the women will not support him, and he is generally defeated for nomination or his name is not presented to the convention.

Woman's presence in politics has introduced an independent element which compels better nominations and better officials.

Some fear has been expressed by those who have not seen the operation of the law that women will spend their time in politics and thereby neglect their home duties. Ninety-nine per cent of the women of Colorado take no more time in politics than to attend one or two political meetings every two years and to go to the polls on election day and cast their votes.

Not a one-hundredth part of the time is spent by women in political matters that is spent by the average woman in social duties. There is no instance known in Colorado where it was even claimed in a divorce case that the difficulties between the husband and wife arose over politics.

Higher Wages from Suffrage

That woman suffrage opens to women more positions and occupations, which, according to the principle of demand and supply, must produce better wages, it seems to me no one can deny.

There was a time when it was considered unseemly for women to accept employment other than in households. To be a clerk in a store or an office was considered almost scandalous. With such a public sentiment what chance had women of obtaining employment at remunerative wages? The very agitation for equal suffrage has forced public sentiment to recognize, at least, the right of women to work in any vocation that is honorable.

If it were not that many noble women in past years advocated equal rights, the sphere of labor for women would likely still be only in the household and factory. The right to exercise the franchise in determining the important questions of city, state, and national government, as well as the officers of the same, gives woman that important consideration and respect which everyone possessing power receives.

Deprive any class or nationality of men of the elective franchise and its detrimental effect would be felt immediately. Their petitions for legislation would no longer receive prompt and careful consideration, and if the proposed legislation conflicted with conditions favorable to a class of voters it would be almost impossible to get a legislator or congressman even to introduce such a measure.

The equal-suffrage women have appeared before a committee of the House of Representatives at Washington every session for a great many years, begging for a report favorable to woman suffrage.

If persons representing one-tenth as many voters had made an appeal for some important legislation affecting their rights, don't we know that those same congressmen would almost have fought with each other for the privilege of writing a favorable report?

Nor would such effect be produced upon legislators alone. A prejudice against the class or nationality deprived of the franchise arises among the masses, and when conflict of interest arises with classes of voters it manifests itself often in violence, with even the courts powerless to redress the wrongs.

Does any one suppose the Chinese would have received the treatment they did had they been voters? Would not the pledge of their votes to a political party have procured the friendship and protection of the members of that party? Would not more positions of employment have been opened to them under that protection, and would not that demand for their labor have produced better wages for them?

If this franchise is so important to men, why is it not equally important to women? If it is so instrumental in getting legislation for men, why would it not produce the same effect for women? If it lessens the positions available to a class of men to be deprived of their franchise, and consequently affects their wages, why does it not produce the same effect on the positions open to women, and consequently, on their wages?

Woman Suffrage Is Practicable

The contention that good women will not vote is flatly contradicted by the returns in the four equal-suffrage states of the Union.

In proportion to the number of women in those states, about as many vote as men. Contrast the vote in any of the four equal-suffrage states with that of other states of equal population, and it becomes apparent that they do vote in as large a proportion, according to their numbers, as men.

Women have equal suffrage in school elections in 29 states of the Union. Has the exercise of that right contaminated the school election there or made less efficient the teaching or moral instruction in such states?

It is generally recognized that the women who have filled official positions in Colorado have made excellent records. While only one state elective office has been filled by a woman, yet women have been appointed on many state boards, and such boards have been managed better than they were ever managed by men alone.

Women have been instrumental in having enacted many excellent laws. Every moral law or movement has had the support of the women. It was the Interparliamentary Union which declared that Colorado has "the sanest, most humane, most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world."

CHAPTER XXXI

The Argument Against Woman Suffrage

By MRS. GILBERT E. JONES

Chairman, National League for the Civic Education of Woman

**FALLACY OF TAXATION AND TYRANNY—EXPERIENCE AGAINST TAX-PAYING
QUALIFICATIONS—THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN—WOMAN SUFFRAGE
IN COLORADO—RELATION TO POLYGAMY—FAILURES OF WOMAN
SUFFRAGE—ABSOLUTELY FUTILE.**

The antisuffragists are not organizing or rushing into committees, societies or associations, and their doings are not being cried out from the housetops. Yet they show by undeniable facts, easily verified, that woman suffrage bills and proposals have been defeated and turned down at the rate of once in every twenty-seven days in the state legislatures for the last twelve years. The "antis" have been especially successful in Kansas, where, in 1887, women obtained municipal suffrage. For twenty-two years the suffragists have tried to extend it to state and federal suffrage, but without success, and the "antis" seem to know why.

A great many states have granted school suffrage to women, but only a partisan or sectarian issue will bring out the women's vote. In Massachusetts women have voted on school boards, and after thirty years' training, only two or three per cent of the women register to vote. This hardly can be pronounced "success," or worth while. "Antis" do believe, however, that women can well serve on educational boards. With universal manhood suffrage there cannot exist such a condition as would warrant the suffragists to cry "taxation without representation is tyranny." Men do not vote because they pay taxes, why should women?

Fallacy of Taxation and Tyranny

Taxation without representation is tyranny, but we must be very careful to define what we mean by the phrase. If we adopt the suffrage attitude, "I pay taxes, therefore I should vote," the natural conclusion is that everybody that pays taxes should vote, or we have a tyrannical form of government. Remember that this argument is used in an unqualified way. We have a "tyranny" here we are told, because some women pay taxes, yet do not vote. If this is true without any qualification, it must be true not only of women, but of everybody. Accordingly this

government is tyrannical if corporations pay taxes, but do not vote; if aliens pay taxes, but do not vote; if minors pay taxes, but do not vote; if anybody pays taxes, but does not vote. The only correct conclusion is, not that women should vote because some of them pay taxes, but that every taxpayer should be given the privilege of the ballot. Under our system of indirect taxation it is almost impossible to say that everybody is not a taxpayer—therefore it would seem that every man, woman and child naturalized or alien, and every corporation, should vote. The absurdity of this is evident. Even if woman suffrage were granted, fifty per cent of the population would still be without the ballot, and every one of these could stand up and say, as the suffragists are saying now, "Taxation without representation is tyranny. I am taxed but unrepresented, therefore I am being tyrannized over."

Experience Against Tax-Paying Qualifications

It is clear that the phrase is distorted. The distortion lies in the fact that the suffragists are trying to make an individual right out of a principle of government. If women vote because they pay direct taxes, many will be enfranchised who never earned a dollar and who own their property wholly through the accident of inheritance. Thousands of women will be discriminated against, in favor of a few. Hundreds of women teachers would never have the advantage that a favored aristocracy of wealth would have. There would be a complete inequality of political privileges for women. Statesmen, lawyers, citizens and the wise men of the north, south, east and west have been consulted, and have conscientiously discussed this question of who should vote, with the result that tax-paying qualifications have been done away with, and universal manhood suffrage has been generally adopted.

The Wage-Earning Woman

A very conscientious investigation can not find that the ballot will help the wage-earning woman. Women must resort to organization, association and trade unions, and then they can command and maintain a standard wage. Supply and demand will do the rest. Women are not well trained and often very deficient and unskilled in most of their occupations. They are generally only supplementary workers and drop their work when they marry. When married, and home and children are to be cared for, they are handicapped way beyond their strength. Married women should be kept out of industry, rather than urged into it, as scientists, physicians and sociologists all state that as women enter into competitive industrial life with men, just so does the death rate of little children increase and the birth rate decrease.

Antisuffragists deplore the fact that women are found in unsuitable occupations. But the suffragists glory in the fact that there are women blacksmiths, baggage masters, brakemen, undertakers, and women political "bosses" in Colorado.

The suffragists call this progress, independence and emancipation

of women. "Antis" ask for more discrimination and better selection of industrial occupations for wage-earning women. Knowing that the average woman has half of the physical strength of the average man, and the price she must pay when in competition with him is too great for her ultimate health, and her hope of motherhood, the "antis" ask for caution and extreme consideration before new activities are entered upon.

Woman Suffrage in Colorado

Miss Summer in her book, "Equal Suffrage," published by the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League, states that woman suffrage in Colorado has not fulfilled its expectations, and that the improved salaries to be paid to women have not been realized. The average wages, even of women teachers, are still decidedly lower than those of men. She also tells us that many of the best laws in the interest of women and children have been passed some time before women were granted the franchise. Had women never voted, those laws would probably have been passed anyway; and in states where women do not vote, one finds better conditions for women, children and wage-earners than in the four suffrage states. This all goes to prove that the ballot in the hands of women is not essential for reforms, good laws, or the betterment of women and children.

The suffrage leaders say that a woman without the vote has no self-respect. We must then look to the suffrage states to find the fulfilment of the woman's true position—complete worth, exalted and respected. But what do we find when we look at Utah! Women have voted there for forty years. Mormonism and woman suffrage were coincident. By the very nature of its teachings, as indicated by Brigham Young, the basis of the Mormon Church is woman—and the Mormon Church is the greatest political machine in the four suffrage states.

Relation to Polygamy

Woman suffragists have lived openly and defiantly in a state of complete polygamy in Utah, and yet they have had the vote and political power. The only form of the Turkish harem found in the United States is in this woman suffrage state. Here we find the answer so often asked, "If women vote, would a priest have power or influence over the women of his parish?" Utah answers the question—the Elders command—the woman's religious fervor makes her obey, and her hero worship of the Elder weakens her judgment. Polygamy was maintained in Utah for these reasons, and it was only when the Federal Government stepped in that these un-American and unwholesome conditions were forbidden by law. Even now, that the Mormon woman can again vote, polygamy is not wholly done away with. Authorities say it never will be until woman suffrage ceases, as sixty per cent of the voters are women, and they keep the Mormon Church in power as the Elders dictate.

With this state of affairs, do we find women more self-respecting where they vote, than where they do not? Is Utah a more self-respecting state for women than Massachusetts? Martha Cannon was elected

state senator. She was on the ticket against her husband, who was nominated for the same office on the Republican ticket. I copy from the Salt Lake *Herald* a few sentences taken from an interview with Mrs. Cannon, state-senator-elect. When asked if she was a strong believer in woman suffrage, she answered, "Of course I am. It will help women to purify politics." "Women are better than men. Slaves are better than their masters." She was then asked, "Do you refer to polygamy?" "Indeed I do not," she answered. "I believe in polygamy—a plural wife isn't half as much of a slave as a single wife. If her husband has four wives, she has three weeks of freedom every single month. Of course it is all over now, but I think the women of Utah think with me, that we were much better off with polygamy. Sixty per cent of the voters of Utah are women. We control the state. What am I going to do with my children while I am making laws for the state? The same thing I have done with them when I have been practicing medicine. They have been left to themselves a good deal. Some day there will be a law compelling people to have no more than a certain amount of children, and then the mothers of this land can live as they ought to live." This is the character and opinion presented by the highest state official that woman suffrage has as yet given to the United States of America. Do we want any more of them? Will not American women express their disapproval and disgust at such sentiments as these? We antisuffragists glory over the fact that Utah is not an "anti" state. What would Miss Shaw say of us, "antis" and "polygamists!" Yet it has stood for forty years, and still stands, to as great a measure as they dare, woman suffrage and polygamy. Woman suffrage and polygamy, men and women with full political power, and religious freedom, were working together, and yet Mrs. Cannon and the woman suffragists speak of purifying politics. Here is their best example after a test of forty years and more. Why do the suffragists have so little to say about Utah? And why are there more Mormons in the four suffrage states than in all of our other states put together? Is it true that women will uplift the condition of women? Look to Utah and find the answer, because there they have full political power like men.

Failures of Woman Suffrage

The question of woman suffrage should be summed up in this way: Has granting the ballot to women in the two suffrage states where they have had it for forty years brought about any great reforms or great results? No—Wyoming has many more men than women, so the results cannot be measured. The Mormon women of Utah are not free American citizens. They are under the Elder's supreme power and vote accordingly, and polygamy has been maintained in Utah by the woman's vote, and is still to be found there, although forbidden, because women have political power.

Have the saloons been abolished in any of the suffrage states? No.

Do men still drink and gamble? Yes, without doubt.

Have the slums been done away with? Indeed no.

Are the streets better cleaned in the states where women vote? No, they are quite as bad as in New York City and elsewhere.

Have the red-light districts been cleared away? Decidedly not, and they can be reckoned upon as a political factor when they are really needed.

Have women purified politics? No, not in the least.

Have women voted voluntarily? Some do; but thousands are carried to the polls in autos and carriages, otherwise they would not vote.

Has pure food and pure milk been established by the woman's vote? Not at all.

Have women's wages been increased because women vote? No, indeed.

Have women equal pay for equal work? Not any more than in New York City.

Are there laws on the statute books that would give women equal pay for equal work? No, and never will be.

Are women treated with more respect in the four suffrage states than elsewhere. Not at all—certainly not in Utah—and when political men and women are working together, all kinds of men speak to women, and women cannot do anything but tolerate the political intruder—as men and women are equal where women vote.

Women suffragists believe suffrage is a success in the above-mentioned four states—and they have ample suffrage testimony to satisfy them.

The "antis" in their investigation find positive proof that many men and women cannot tolerate the suffrage for women, and pronounce it a failure.

Absolutely Futile

The real truth is that woman suffrage is absolutely futile—neither good nor bad, but unnecessary. What women accomplish in all other states, without the votes, that denotes progress, reforms and betterment of conditions for women, children and humanity, is solely attributed to the ballot in the states where women vote. The franchise granted to women means a doubling of all the evils now existing in manhood suffrage and this cannot mean progress.

"In the tabernacle of life, man dwells in the outer courts, woman ministers at the holy of holies—her influence upon humanity is so primal, so intimate, so dominant, that it might seem almost divine. Herein lies her superiority. In coarse and common service, in the race of the swift and the battle of the strong, man immeasurably outstrips her. In the higher service of love, which lies above battle-field and race-course, of whose ministry God himself is the only exemplar, she holds a position so advanced that man is not even her competitor."

BOOK III

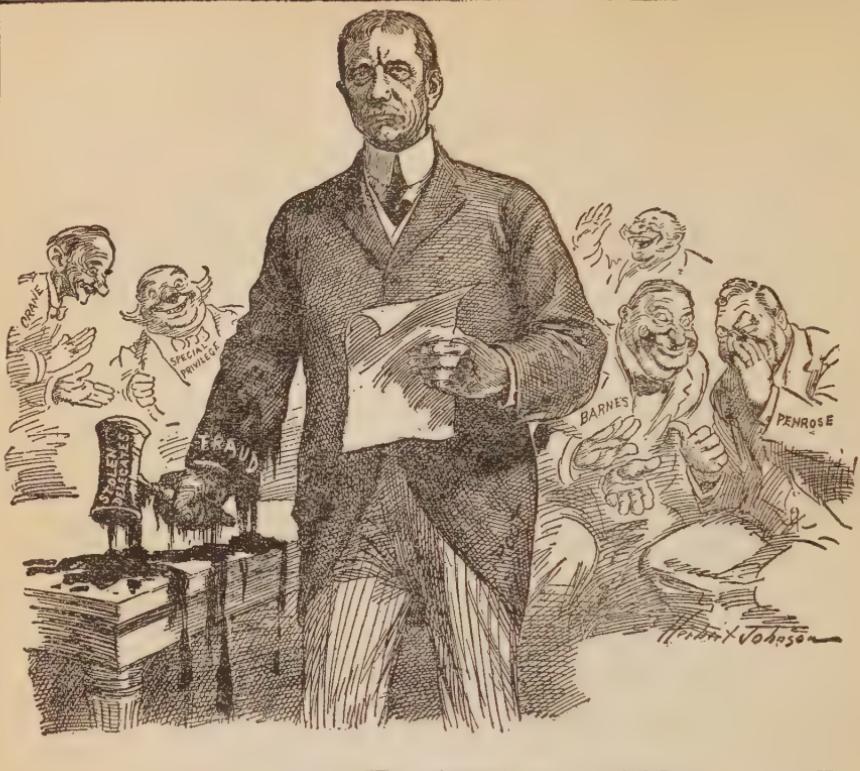
Political History of the United States

HISTORICAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

LIVES OF ALL OUR PRESIDENTS

PAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED



From the *Philadelphia North American*

CHAIRMAN ROOT AS SEEN BY THE OPPOSITION

Mr. Root was elected chairman of the Chicago Convention over Roosevelt's candidate, Governor McGovern, by receiving the votes of contested delegates seated by the National Committee. This was bitterly resented by the Roosevelt delegates.

THE OLD ERA AND THE NEW

The action of the Republican National Committee makes it clearer than ever that the Republican party is standing on the dividing line between two political eras. The old era was the era of the caucus, the convention, and the party committee. The new era is the era of the direct primary. In the old era the making of party nominations and the administration of party affairs were looked upon as a game in which those politicians who should succeed by political manipulation or clever trickery in securing the advantage of position or of numbers would be entitled to nominate the candidates of the party and to dictate its policies. In the new era the principle upon which the making of party nominations and the control of party affairs are founded is that the rank and file of the party are entitled to name its candidates for office and to dictate its policies. The majority of the National Committee who were committed to the support of Mr. Taft carried on their work on the old theory of a game—the theory that those who could win the advantage in the game were entitled to rule. The progressives in the party under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt are committed to the new theory that it is the people who should really rule. There is no question which theory will ultimately win. The old era of politics as a game is passing and is giving way to the new era of real popular rule.—The Outlook.

CHAPTER XXXII

Historical Presidential Campaigns

WASHINGTON'S ELECTION—JEFFERSON'S ELECTION—THE ADAMS-JACKSON FEUD—THE ATTACK ON JACKSON—THE HARRISON-VAN BUREN CAMPAIGN—LINCOLN'S FIRST NOMINATION—LINCOLN'S POPULARITY—LINCOLN'S ELECTION.

Washington, the first choice of the new United States for president, was not elected by the people. Only eleven of the original thirteen states had adopted the Constitution; therefore Rhode Island and North Carolina, not having come into the Union then, had no voice in the election of the first president.

The Constitution provided for certain electors who were to cast the people's ballots for them. It was not clear at first how the electors were to be designated, and the time was short,—especially when it required about two weeks to send a letter from one end of the country to the other. Several states gave the people the privilege of voting for their electors. Others balloted for them in the state legislatures.

Even here there were disputes as to the relative rights and prerogatives of the upper and lower houses. The New Hampshire state senators and representatives debated until the time set for voting for electors had nearly passed, but they saved themselves at the eleventh hour by choosing five electors for Washington and five for John Adams.

The New York State Senate and Assembly quarreled until they lost their voice in the first presidential election. But they had the satisfaction of having the national capital in their chief city.

Washington's Election

Washington was the choice of ten states, receiving only sixty-nine electoral votes, exactly half the number of electors. He was never elected unanimously, as is often stated. It is an interesting fact that Virginia did not give over half her votes to Washington in either election, and it is alleged by several historians that Washington did not decide whether to stand for a third presidential term till he found that his Virginia neighbors would not vote for him again. John Adams, vice-president for both terms under Washington, was kept waiting for his chief to decide the momentous question before he knew whether he himself might be a candidate or not.

Until Jefferson's second election only the candidates for president

were voted for, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes was chosen president, and the one receiving the next highest number was chosen vice-president. This went very well as long as the two successful candidates were of the same political belief, but, as in the case of Adams and Jefferson, when the president was a Federalist and the vice-president a Democrat, the young republic was like "a kingdom divided against itself".

Jefferson's Election

Adams, who had been elected by a plurality of three, sometimes referred to himself with bitter playfulness as "president of three votes." He became a candidate to succeed himself, but his hated vice-president was more successful. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received seventy-three votes, making a tie, and Adams and Pinckney of South Carolina would have tied with sixty-five votes each if one elector had not thrown his vote away. With two virtual ties the election was thrown into Congress, and there were exciting times in the Hall of Representatives when both houses convened. The Federalists, seeing that they could not elect their candidate, gave the weight of their influence with inexcusable spitefulness to Aaron Burr. They were afterward ashamed of this action, especially when Colonel Burr had turned out a traitor to his country. But John Adams was the last Federalist president.

On the thirty-sixth ballot Jefferson received fifty-five votes and Burr forty-nine. Adams was so ill-natured that he left Washington at dawn on the morning of Inauguration Day, leaving his vice-president and successor to shift for himself, which he did with "Jeffersonian simplicity"—to the smiling satisfaction of the triumphant Democrats.

The Adams-Jackson Feud

There was never a more striking contrast between two presidents and their antecedents than between John Quincy Adams and his successor, Andrew Jackson. Adams, as the son of John Adams, had begun a diplomatic career at the age of sixteen, while his father was representing the struggling colonies abroad. Then, as minister from the United States to several courts of Europe, he became the cultivated gentleman and the polished diplomat. His wife, whom he married in London, was one of the most accomplished mistresses of the White House, playing with rare skill upon the harp, and reading Plato in the original Greek with her sons.

President John Quincy Adams had been a great student of botany, arboriculture and astronomy. He set out some of the finest trees in the White House and government grounds. He established a "Garden of Botany," and suggested the collecting of seeds to be distributed to the farmers all over the country—an embryo Department of Agriculture. He also set up a telescope on the roof of the White House and used to "rise while it was yet night" to study the stars.

Andrew Jackson, his successor in the presidential chair, was a man of another sort. Jackson had no use for a man of three names. John Quincy Adams indeed! If plain "George" was good enough for Washing-

ton, "Thomas," for Jefferson, and "James" for Madison and Monroe, what was the use of a third name to such a little, insignificant looking man from Massachusetts? He and his friends were sure John *Quincy* Adams would have parted his hair in the middle, if he had had any hair to part! And as for astronomy and the telescope on the roof—Andrew Jackson didn't believe all that nonsense about the world being round! He didn't waste *his* time staring at the stars, for he had spent his life as a pioneer, fighting the British and Indians and doing something worth while for his country. General Jackson was the most popular man of his day. More babies were named for him than ever bore the names of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln. He was a bluff old hero, who didn't mind fighting a duel now and then to keep his finger handy at the trigger. His nickname, "Old Hickory," appealed to the people because he was of a tough fiber, staunch, unbreakable and lasting, combined with the rough exterior of the shagbark.

The Attack on Jackson

But with all his popularity Andrew Jackson came to the capital with bitterness rankling in his gallant bosom. His enemies, in their desperate attempt to make inroads upon his immense popularity, attacked the name of his wife, one of the best of women, whose first husband had deserted her, and the state legislature had granted her a divorce before she was married to the hero of New Orleans. The ghoulish politicians dug up the records which had been buried for forty years, found a technical flaw in the act, and declared that the devoted general had been living nearly all his life with a woman not his wife.

The attempt itself proved the folly of their desperation, and no great harm would have been done if they had succeeded in keeping the accusation from Mrs. Jackson, as the General endeavored to do. But she overheard two men discussing the matter one day, and on learning that the terrible accusation had spread all over the country she died of grief, and was buried in the white silk gown she had had made to wear at the Inaugural Ball.

Jackson came to Washington determined to have revenge upon his enemies. He believed every one of his political opponents had taken a hand in "slanderizing my Rachel and breaking her heart!" There was no love lost between him and the opposition anyway, for he had been really elected by a popular majority four years before, but by means of what looked to him like juggling with electoral votes the election was thrown into Congress, with the result that John Quincy Adams had been declared president.

So when Jackson, now popularly and legally elected, kissed the Bible on taking the oath as president of the United States, the people made the welkin ring. Never had the national capital seen so many people as came from all parts of the country to witness the inauguration of "Old Hickory." Throngs followed their idol through the streets and crowded after him into the White House, ruining the velvet carpets, climbing up

with their muddy boots on the satin furniture that had cost the nation \$14,000 during Adams's *regime*, to get a better view of "the General," as they loved to call him. They crushed him against a wall of the East Room till the police had to interfere to save his life. They drank the barrels of punch provided for their refreshment, mobbed the waiters and smashed the china and glassware, grabbing and gobbling the delicacies the frightened attendants were trying to serve. They literally crowded the new president out of the White House, for he was glad to steal out at a side door to avoid the demonstrations of the crowd and leave the unruly people in possession.

"To the victors belong the spoils" was the motto of the Jackson administration. He vowed vengeance against his enemies. "By the Eternal!" he declared, he would make them all suffer for the wrongs they had done to him and his. He was a bitter enemy, but a staunch, loyal friend. Of this his friend Van Buren, "the Little Magician," had ample proof. President Jackson promoted Van Buren in office and backed and helped in his campaign, very much as President Roosevelt promoted Secretary Taft and aided him in the campaign of 1908. Van Buren tried to "succeed himself" in the famous campaign of 1840, but he utterly failed without the help of his former backer.

The Harrison-Van Buren Campaign

Van Buren had spent \$7,000 cleaning off the smoke that had accumulated on the ceilings in Jackson's time. He was ridiculed because of his royal receptions in the "Blue Elliptical Saloon," still known as the Blue Room. Out of all this elegance came the historic remark that if some one would give General William Henry Harrison, the nominee of the Whigs, "a pension and a barrel of hard cider he would be contented to sit the remainder of his days in his log cabin by the side of the sea-coal fire and study mental philosophy."

This sneer was taken up for a war-cry, and the historic "Log Cabin," "Hard Cider" campaign followed. The story of the campaign of 1840 is familiar, with its little cabins, big barbecues, barrels of cider, its mass meetings and processions, while the whole country rang to the tune of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." The refrain of one of the campaign songs proved true, for

"Van, Van *"was"* a used-up man!"

But when President Van Buren rode down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Inauguration beside his successor in a phæton he appeared smiling and happy, and treated his rival, General William Henry Harrison, with distinguished courtesy.

Lincoln's First Nomination

The "Rail Splitter" campaign began in the Republican State Convention at Decatur, Illinois, in May, 1860, when Lincoln's cousin, John Hanks,

marched into the "wigwam" with two small black walnut rails on his shoulder, bearing a banner with this inscription:

TWO RAILS

From a lot made by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks
in the Sangamon Bottom, in the year 1830.

This gave the keynote to the campaign. While Lincoln remained anxiously at home in Springfield, his capable friends carried on the work in Chicago. One of them telegraphed him one day that a certain concession would have to be made to gain the support of a certain contingent. Lincoln wired back:

"I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none. A. LINCOLN."

There were several days of preliminary work in the great Chicago wigwam. Seward and Chase were strong candidates. No one seemed to realize the popularity of "Honest Abe, the Rail Splitter" of Illinois until the third ballot, when, with the great hall "as still as a church," Abraham Lincoln was declared the nominee. A reporter who witnessed the scene described it thus:

"Who that saw the tumultuous rapture of that occasion could ever forget it! Men embraced each other, fell on one another's necks, and wept out their repressed feeling. They threw their hats in air, and almost rent the roofs with their huzzahs.

"Thousands and thousands were packed in the streets outside who stood patiently receiving accounts of the proceedings within from reporters posted on the roof, listening at the numerous open skylights and shouting them in detail to the crowd below.

"Sometimes messengers ran from these reporters at the skylights to the eaves of the building, thence to vociferate to the remote but patiently waiting crowd outside what had just been said or done. They would then take up the subsiding chorus of shouts within, and re-echo them still more wildly, until they drowned the city's multitudinous roar, and were heard a mile away.

"The billows of this delirious joy surged around me, as I sat amid the swaying, rocking forms of men who had sprung to their feet and grasped each other by the hand, or had fallen into one another's arms, and were laughing, crying and talking incoherently."

Lincoln's Popularity

Never was a nomination received with such wild demonstrations of joy. Senator Douglas, always a rival of Lincoln's, said of his popularity, "There won't be a tar barrel left in Illinois to-night!"

Mr. Lincoln was wandering about the Square in Springfield, and had stopped in a store to make a purchase for his wife, when an excited boy came running across from the telegraph office, shouting,

"Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated!"

A shout went up from a group of men near by and everybody, seeing Lincoln's tall form in front of the shop crowded about him with their congratulations. For a moment he seemed but one of a happy company. Suddenly, as if remembering that it was he who had been so highly honored, he tore away from the people who clutched his hands and coat in the frenzy of congratulations, and said:

"My friends, I am glad to receive your congratulations, and as there is a little woman down in Eighth Street who will be glad to hear the news, you must excuse me until I inform her."

But some one else had been before him. The "little woman" already knew it when he came with such long quick strides that his coat-tails stood out behind him in his eagerness to tell her. She had been expecting this very news for at least twenty years!

Lincoln Clubs and Ellsworth Zouaves were formed and parades followed, the men marching in zig-zag, imitating the lines of a rail fence.

Lincoln himself was such a joker that all manner of jests and witticisms were in order. Robert, Lincoln's eldest son, was called "The Prince of Rails," burlesquing the title of the eldest son of the King of England.

Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for vice-president. Two anagrams on the names of the candidates show the sportive ingenuity of the people:

<i>Ham</i>	<i>Lin</i>
<i>Lin</i>	<i>Coln</i>
and <i>Abra-Hamlin-Coln</i>	

It was a singing campaign, almost as musical as that of 1840. The favorite chorus refrain was "Hurrah for Old Abe, Honest Abe of the West!"

Lincoln's Election

Election day fell on the 6th of November that year. Mr. Lincoln spent the evening in the telegraph office receiving the returns. About eleven o'clock the news began to come from New York and Pennsylvania. Simon Cameron sent him a special message:

"Pennsylvania seventy thousand for you. New York safe. Glory enough!"

Mr. Lincoln seemed more anxious about his own precinct in Springfield than over the returns from whole states. About midnight he went home to tell his wife. He once described this as follows:

"On my arrival I went to my bedroom and found my wife sound asleep. I gently touched her shoulder and said 'Mary.' She made no answer. I spoke again a little louder, saying, 'Mary! MARY! We are ELECTED!'"

CHAPTER XXXIII

Lives of All Our Presidents

George Washington, born February 22, 1732 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Augustine Washington, a planter, m. Mary Ball), near Bridges Creek, Westmoreland County, Va. He did not go to college, but was a surveyor in early life, and in 1759 married Martha (Dandridge) Custis, who was born in 1732 and died in 1802. He became a great soldier, and led the Continental forces to victory in the Revolutionary War. He was inaugurated in 1789, and his terms of office aggregated 7 years 10 months and 4 days. In politics he was a Federalist and in religion an Episcopalian. Washington died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799, of pneumonia, in his sixty-seventh year, and was buried at the same place.

John Adams, born October 30, 1735 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, John Adams, a farmer, m. Susanna Boylston), at Quincy, Norfolk County, Mass. He was graduated at Harvard in 1755 and was a school teacher for a short time after. In 1764 he married Abigail Smith, who was born in 1744 and died in 1818. They had three sons and two daughters. Several years after leaving college he studied law. He filled many important positions in the government service and was elected vice-president of the United States in 1789. He was inaugurated as president of the United States in 1797, in his sixty-first year, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Federalist and in religion a Congregationalist. He died at Quincy July 4, 1826, of general debility, in his ninetieth year, and was buried there.

Thomas Jefferson, born April 13, 1743 (of Welsh paternal ancestry. Father, Peter Jefferson, a planter, m. Jane Randolph), at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Va. He was a student at the College of William and Mary, graduating in 1762. In 1772 he married Martha (Wayles) Skelton, who was born in 1748 and died in 1782. They had one son and five daughters. Jefferson took up the study of law and became a great statesman, being vice-president of the United States from 1797 to 1801. He was inaugurated as president of the United States in 1801, in his fifty-seventh year, and filled the office for two terms (eight years). In politics he was a Republican (although the Democratic party of to-day claims lineal descent from President Jefferson) and a Liberal in his religious views. He died at Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826, in his sixty-third year, and was buried at the same place.

James Madison, born March 16, 1751 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, James Madison, a planter, m. Nelly Conway), at Port Conway, King George County, Va. He was graduated at Princeton in 1771. In

1794 he married Dolly (Payne) Todd, who was born in 1772 and died in 1849. Madison was a lawyer and a great statesman before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1809, in his fifty-seventh year, and served two terms (eight years). In politics he was a Republican, and in religion an Episcopalian. He died at Montpelier, Va., of general debility, June 28, 1836, in his eighty-fifth year, and was buried at the same place.

James Monroe, born April 28, 1758 (of Scotch paternal ancestry. Father, Spence Monroe, a planter, m. Eliza Jones), at Head of Monroe's Creek, Westmoreland County, Va. He was a student at the College of William and Mary, graduating in 1776. In 1786 he married Eliza Kortwright, who was born in 1768 and died in 1830. Two daughters were born to them. He became a soldier, a lawyer and a great statesman, being the author of "The Monroe Doctrine." He was inaugurated in 1817, in his fifty-eighth year, and served two terms (eight years). In politics he was a Republican and in religion an Episcopalian. He died at New York City, of general debility, July 4, 1831, in his seventy-third year, and was buried in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

John Quincy Adams, born July 11, 1767 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, John Adams, lawyer and president of the United States 1797-1801, m. Abigail Smith), at Quincy, Norfolk County, Mass. He was graduated at Harvard in 1787, and in the same year married Louisa Catherine Johnson, who was born in 1775 and died in 1852. They had three sons and one daughter. Adams had filled many public offices before his election to the presidency and was a great statesman. He was inaugurated in 1825 in his fifty-seventh year, and served one term (four years). He claimed to be a Republican, but his doctrines were decidedly Federalistic. In religion he was a Congregationalist. He died at Washington, D.C., of paralysis, February 23, 1848, in his eightieth year, and was buried at Quincy, Mass.

Andrew Jackson, born March 15, 1767 (of Scotch-Irish paternal ancestry. Father, Andrew Jackson, a farmer, m. Elizabeth Hutchinson) near Cureton's Pond, Union County, N. C. In 1791 he married Rachel Donelson Robards, who was born in 1767 and died in 1828. Jackson was a lawyer and statesman when elected president, and was inaugurated in 1829 at the age of sixty-one. He served two terms (eight years). He was shot at in the Capitol at Washington, January 29, 1835, by a house painter named Richard Lawrence, escaping because the pistol of the assassin missed fire. In politics he was a Democrat and in religion a Presbyterian. He died at Hermitage, Tenn., June 8, 1845, of consumption, in his seventy-eighth year, and was buried there.

Martin Van Buren, born December 5, 1782 (of Dutch paternal ancestry. Father, Abraham Van Buren, a farmer, m. Maria Hoes), at Kinderhook, Columbia County, N. Y. In 1807 he married Hannah Hoes, who was born in 1783 and died in 1819. Four sons were born to them. He was a great statesman before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1837, at the age of fifty-four years, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Democrat, and he belonged to the Reformed Dutch

Church. He died at Lindenwold, N. Y., of asthmatic catarrh, July 24, 1862, in his seventy-ninth year, and was buried at Kinderhook, N. Y.

William Henry Harrison, born February 9, 1773 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Benjamin Harrison, statesman, m. Elizabeth Bassett), at Berkeley, Charles City County, Va. He was graduated at Hampden-Sydney College in 1790, and in 1795 married Anna Symes, who was born in 1775 and died in 1864. They had six sons and four daughters. In his early life Harrison was a great soldier. In politics he was a Whig and in religion an Episcopalian. He was inaugurated in 1841, in his sixty-eighth year, but died at Washington one month after, April 4, 1841, having been ill but a few days of bilious pleurisy. He was buried at North Bend, Ohio.

John Tyler, born March 29, 1790 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, John Tyler, jurist, m. Mary Armistead), at Greenway, Charles City County, Va. He was a graduate of the College of William and Mary in the year 1807. In 1813 he married Letitia Christian, who was born in 1790 and died in 1842, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. He was a great lawyer and statesman, and being vice-president of the United States at the time of the death of President Harrison he stepped into the presidential vacancy, at the age of fifty-one. He was inaugurated in 1841 and his term of office aggregated 3 years and 11 months. He was married a second time in 1844 to Julia Gardiner, who was born in 1820 and died in 1889, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. In politics he was a Democrat and in religion an Episcopalian. He died of a bilious attack at Richmond, Va., January 17, 1862, in his seventy-first year, and was buried at Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

James Knox Polk, born November 2, 1795 (of Scotch-Irish paternal ancestry. Father, Samuel Polk, farmer, m. Jane Knox), near Pineville, Mecklenburg County, N. C. He was a graduate of the University of North Carolina in 1818. In 1824 he married Sarah Childress, who was born in 1803 and died in 1891. He was a lawyer and already a prominent figure in public life when elected to the presidency, at which time he was living at Nashville, Tenn. He was inaugurated in 1845 in his forty-ninth year and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Democrat and in religion a Presbyterian. He died at Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849, of chronic diarrhea, in his fifty-third year, and was buried at Polk Place, Nashville, Tenn.

Zachary Taylor, born November 24, 1784 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Richard Taylor, a planter, m. Sarah Strother), near Orange C. H., Orange County, Va. He became a general in the army. In 1810 he married Margaret Smith, who was born in 1788 and died in 1852. They had one son and five daughters. He lived at Baton Rouge, La., when elected to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1849, in his sixty-fourth year, but was only 1 year 4 months and 5 days in office, dying at Washington of a bilious fever on July 9, 1850. He was buried at Springfield, five miles from Louisville, Ky. In politics he was a Whig, and in religion an Episcopalian.

Millard Fillmore, born January 7, 1800 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Nathaniel Fillmore, a farmer, m. Phebe Millard), at Summerhill,

Cayuga County, N. Y. He was a tailor in early life, and in 1826 married Abigail Powers, who was born in 1798 and died in 1853. They had one son and one daughter. He was elected vice-president of the United States in 1848, and on the death in office of President Taylor became president. He was inaugurated in 1850, in his fiftieth year, and was 2 years 7 months and 26 days in office. In 1858, after the death of his wife, Fillmore married again, his second wife being Caroline (Carmichael) McIntosh, who was born in 1813 and died in 1881. In politics he was a Whig and in religion a Unitarian. He died at Buffalo, N. Y., March 9, 1874, in his seventy-fourth year, of general debility, and was buried there in Forest Lawn Cemetery.

Franklin Pierce, born November 23, 1804 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Benjamin Pierce, a farmer, m. Anna Kendrick), near Hillsborough, Hillsborough County, N. H. He was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1824, and in 1834 married Jane Means Appleton, who was born in 1806 and died in 1863. Three sons were born to them. He was a lawyer living at Concord, N. H., at the time of his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1853, in his forty-eighth year, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Democrat and in religion an Episcopalian. He died at Concord, N. H., of inflammation of the stomach, October 8, 1869, in his sixty-fourth year, and was buried in Minot Lot, Old Cemetery, Concord, N. H.

James Buchanan, born April 23, 1791 (of Scotch-Irish paternal ancestry. Father, James Buchanan, a merchant, m. Elizabeth Speer), at Cove Gap, Franklin County, Pa. He was graduated at Dickinson College in 1809. He was a lawyer, and very prominent in public life before his election to the presidency, having filled several high offices. He was inaugurated in 1857, in his sixty-fifth year, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Democrat, and in religion a Presbyterian. He died of rheumatic gout, June 1, 1868, and was buried in Woodward Hill Cemetery, Lancaster, Pa. He never married.

Abraham Lincoln, born February 12, 1809 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Thomas Lincoln, a farmer, m. Nancy Hanks), near Hodgenville, Hardin County, Ky. In early life he was a farm hand. In 1842 he married Mary Todd, who was born in 1818 and died in 1882. Four sons were born to them. Lincoln was a successful lawyer living at Springfield, Ill., at the time of his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1861, in his fifty-second year, and was in office 4 years 1 month and 11 days, being assassinated at Ford's Theatre, Washington, D. C., April 14, 1865 (at the beginning of his second term), by a pistol shot fired by John Wilkes Booth. It was during his administration that the great Civil War took place. In politics he was a Republican and in religion a Presbyterian. He was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Ill.

Andrew Johnson, born December 29, 1808 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Jacob Johnson, sexton and constable, m. Mary McDonough), at Raleigh, Wake County, N. C. In early life he was a tailor. In 1827 he married Eliza McCardle, who was born in 1810 and died in 1876.

They had three sons and two daughters. Johnson was a statesman, having filled several high offices before his election to the vice-presidency of the United States in 1865 at the age of fifty-six. On the assassination of President Lincoln in 1865 he became president, which office he filled for 3 years 10 months and 19 days. In politics he was a Republican, and in religion a Methodist. He died at Carter's Depot, Tenn., July 31, 1875, in his sixty-sixth year, of paralysis, and was buried at Greenville, Tenn.

Ulysses Simpson Grant, born April 27, 1822 (of Scotch paternal ancestry. Father, Jesse Root Grant, a tanner, m. Harriet Simpson) at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, O. He was graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1843 and became a great soldier. In 1848 he married Julia Dent, who was born in 1826 and died in 1902. Three sons and one daughter were born to them. Grant was a great general at the time of his election to the presidency, in 1869, at the age of forty-six, which office he filled for two terms (eight years). In politics he was a Republican and in religion a Methodist. He died at Mount McGregor, N. Y., of cancer, on July 23, 1885, in his sixty-third year, and was buried in Riverside Park, New York City, N. Y.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes, born October 4, 1822 (of Scotch paternal ancestry. Father, Rutherford Hayes, a merchant, m. Sophia Birchard), at Delaware, Delaware County, O. He was graduated at Kenyon College in 1842. In 1852 he married Lucy Ware Webb, who was born in 1831 and died in 1889. They had seven sons and one daughter. Hayes was a lawyer living in Fremont, O., at the time of his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1877, in his fifty-fourth year, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Republican and in religion a Methodist. He died at Fremont, O., January 17, 1893, of paralysis of the heart, in his seventieth year, and was buried at Fremont, Ohio.

James Abram Garfield, born November 19, 1831 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Abram Garfield, a farmer, m. Eliza Ballou) in Orange Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. He was graduated at Williams College in 1856, and in 1858 married Lucretia Rudolph, who was born in 1832. They had four sons and one daughter. He was at first a school teacher and afterward studied law; and he held many high public offices before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1881, in his forty-ninth year, and filled the office for only six-and-one-half months, being shot in the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, Washington, D. C., July 2, 1881, by Charles Jules Guiteau, and dying from the wounds at Elberon, Long Branch, N. J., September 19, 1881. In politics he was a Republican, and in religion a member of the Church of the Disciples. He was buried at Cleveland, Ohio.

Chester Alan Arthur, born October 5, 1830 (of Scotch-Irish paternal ancestry. Father, William Arthur, a clergyman, m. Malvina Stone), at Fairfield, Franklin County, Vt. He was graduated at Union College in 1848. In 1859 he married Ellen Lewis Herndon, who was born in 1837 and died in 1880. They had two children, one son and one daughter. For a while after graduating Arthur taught school, at the same time taking up the study of law. He was elected vice-president of the United States

in 1880, and, after the death of President Garfield by an assassin's hand, became president of the United States. He took the oath of office in 1881, in his fiftieth year, and served 3 years and $5\frac{1}{2}$ months. In politics he was a Republican and in religion an Episcopalian. He died at New York City of Bright's Disease, on November 17, 1886, in his fifty-sixth year and was buried in Rural Cemetery, Albany, N. Y.

Grover Cleveland, born March 18, 1837 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Richard Falley Cleveland, a clergyman, m. Anna Neal), at Caldwell, Essex County, N. J. He did not go to college, but taught school for a short time, and afterward began the study of law in a lawyer's office in Buffalo, N. Y. He held several public offices in New York State before his election to the presidency in 1884 at the age of forty-seven. He was inaugurated for the first time in 1885, and was in office for the full term of four years. He was married in 1886 (while in office) to Frances Folsom, who was born in 1864, and they had one son and three daughters. In 1892 he was again elected to the presidency, and held the office for another term of four years. In politics he was a Democrat and in religion a Presbyterian. He died at Princeton, N. J., June 24, 1908, of general debility, in his seventy-first year, and was buried at Princeton, N. J.

Benjamin Harrison, born August 20, 1833 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, John Scott Harrison, a farmer, m. Elizabeth F. Irwin) at North Bend, Hamilton County, Ohio. He was graduated at Miami University in 1853, and in the same year married Caroline Lavinia Scott, who was born in 1832 and died in 1892. One son and one daughter were born to them. He was a lawyer and held many public offices before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1889 in his fifty-fifth year, and served one term (four years). In politics he was a Republican and in religion a Presbyterian. He married a second time in 1896, his wife being Mary Scott, who was born in 1858. One daughter was born to them. He died at Indianapolis, Ind., on March 13, 1901, of pneumonia, in his sixty-seventh year, and was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, Indianapolis, Ind.

William McKinley, born January 29, 1843 (of Scotch-Irish paternal ancestry. Father, William McKinley, iron manufacturer, m. Nancy C. Allison), at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio. In his early years he was a soldier, and later took up the study of law. In 1871 he married Ida Saxton, who was born in 1844 and died in 1907. Two daughters were born to them. McKinley held several public offices before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1897 at the age of fifty-three years and served the full term of four years. He was again re-elected in 1900, but only filled the office 6 months and 4 days, being shot at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., on September 6, 1901, by Louis Czolgosz, dying from his wounds September 14, 1901. In politics he was a Republican and in religion a Methodist. He was buried at Canton, Ohio.

Theodore Roosevelt, born October 27, 1858 (of Dutch paternal ancestry. Father, Theodore Roosevelt, a merchant, m. Martha Bullock), at New York City, N. Y. He was graduated at Harvard in 1880. In 1883, he married Alice Lee, who died in 1884. One daughter was born

to them. In 1886 he again married, his second wife being Edith Kermit Carow. They had four sons and one daughter. Roosevelt was a great public official and soldier, and in 1900 was elected vice-president of the United States. The assassination of President McKinley made him the supreme official of the United States. He took the oath of office in 1901, at the age of forty-two, and occupied the president's chair for 7 years 5 months and 18 days. In politics he was a Republican and he professes the Reformed Dutch religion.

William Howard Taft, born September 15, 1857 (of English paternal ancestry. Father, Alphonso Taft, a lawyer, m. Louise M. Torrey), at Cincinnati, Ohio. He graduated from Yale in 1878, and later studied law at the University of Cincinnati. In 1886 he married Helen Herron. Two sons and one daughter were born to them. He filled several important positions in the government before his election to the presidency. He was inaugurated in 1909, at the age of fifty-one. In politics he is a Republican, and in religion a Unitarian.

Vice-Presidents of the United States

	NAME.	Birthplace.	Year.	Residence	Politics.	Died.	Age at Death.
1	John Adams.	Quincy, Mass.	1735	Mass.	Fed.	1826	90
2	Thomas Jefferson.	Shadwell, Va.	1743	Va.	Rep.	1826	83
3	Aaron Burr.	Newark, N. J.	1756	N. Y.	Rep.	1836	80
4	George Clinton.	Ulster Co., N. Y.	1739	N. Y.	Rep.	1812	73
5	Elbridge Gerry.	Marblehead, Mass.	1744	Mass.	Rep.	1814	70
6	D. D. Tompkins.	Scarsdale, N. Y.	1774	N. Y.	Rep.	1825	51
7	John C. Calhoun.	Abbeville, S. C.	1782	S. C.	Rep.	1850	68
8	M. Van Buren.	Kinderhook, N. Y.	1882	N. Y.	Dem.	1862	79
9	R. M. Johnson.	Louisville, Ky.	1780	Ky.	Dem.	1850	70
10	John Tyler.	Greenway, Va.	1790	Va.	Dem.	1862	72
11	George M. Dallas.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1792	Pa.	Dem.	1864	72
12	Millard Fillmore.	Summerhill, N. Y.	1800	N. Y.	Whig.	1874	74
13	William M. King.	Sampson Co., N. C.	1786	Ala.	Dem.	1853	67
14	J. C. Breckinridge.	Lexington, Ky.	1821	Ky.	Dem.	1875	54
15	Hannibal Hamlin.	Paris, Me.	1809	Me.	Rep.	1891	81
16	Andrew Johnson.	Raleigh, N. C.	1808	Tenn.	Rep.	1875	66
17	Schuylar Colfax.	N. York City, N. Y.	1823	Ind.	Rep.	1885	62
18	Henry Wilson.	Farmington, N. H.	1812	Mass.	Rep.	1875	63
19	W. A. Wheeler.	Malone, N. Y.	1819	N. Y.	Rep.	1887	68
20	C. A. Arthur.	Fairfield, Vt.	1830	N. Y.	Rep.	1886	56
21	T. A. Hendricks.	Muskingum, Co., O.	1819	Ind.	Dem.	1885	66
22	Levi P. Morton.	Shoreham, Vt.	1824	N. Y.	Rep.		
23	A. E. Stevenson.	Christian Co., Ky.	1835	Ill.	Dem.		
24	G. A. Hobart.	Long Branch, N. J.	1844	N. J.	Rep.	1899	55
25	Theo. Roosevelt.	New York City, N. Y.	1858	N. Y.	Rep.		
26	C. W. Fairbanks.	Unionville Center, O.	1852	Ind.	Rep.		
27	J. S. Sherman.	Utica, N. Y.	1855	N. Y.	Rep.		

CHAPTER XXXIV

Past Presidential Elections

Total Popular Vote and Electoral Vote for Candidates for President and Vice-President at each Election

It is a fact generally known, but often overlooked, that the voters of the United States do not vote directly for their choice for president and vice-president, but indirectly through an electoral college composed of presidential electors chosen by the voters, each state being entitled to a number of electors equal to its congressional representation. While, constitutionally, each member of the electoral college has the right to cast his vote according to his individual judgment, custom has confined his choice to the candidates of the party by whom he is elected. The record of any popular votes for electors prior to 1824 is so scanty that an attempt to give them would be useless. In most of the states, for more than a quarter century following the establishment of the government, the state legislatures "appointed" the presidential electors, and the people therefore voted only indirectly for them, their choice being expressed by their votes for members of the legislature. In this tabulation only the aggregate electoral votes for candidates for president and vice-president in the first nine quadrennial elections appear.

Electoral Votes

1789. Previous to 1840, each elector voted for two candidates for president. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared president, and the one who received the largest number of votes was declared vice-president. The electoral votes for the first president of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntington, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia; Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen president and John Adams vice-president.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington, of Virginia; John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of South Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen president and Thomas Jefferson vice-president.

1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of ten states, which, being the largest vote cast for a candidate, elected him president. Burr received the votes of four states, which, being the next largest vote, elected him vice-president. There were 2 blank votes.

1804. The Constitution of the United States having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a president and a vice-president, instead of for two candidates for president. The result was as follows: For president, Thomas Jefferson Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For vice-president, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14; Jefferson was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.

1808. For president, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 6. For vice-president, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen president and Clinton vice-president.

1812. For president, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy 1. Madison was chosen president and Gerry vice-president.

1816. For president, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen president and Tompkins vice-president.

1820. For president, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For vice-president, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen president and Daniel D. Tompkins vice-president.

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES

Elec- tion Year.	Candidates for President.	States.	Politic- al Party.	Popular Vote.	Elect- oral Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.
1824	Andrew Jackson..... John Q. Adams*..... Henry Clay..... Wm. H. Crawford.....	Tenn. Mass. Ky. Ga.	Dem. Rep. Rep. Rep.	155,872 105,321 46,587 44,282	99 84 37 41	John C. Calhoun* Nathan Sanford Nathaniel Macon Andrew Jackson M. Van Buren Henry Clay
1828	Andrew Jackson..... John Q. Adams.....	Tenn. Mass.	Dem. Nat. R.	647,231 509,097	178 83	John C. Calhoun* Richard Rush William Smith
1832	Andrew Jackson*..... Henry Clay..... John Floyd..... William Wirt.....	Tenn. Ky. Ga. Md.	Dem. Nat. R. Ind. Anti-M.	687,502 530,189 33,108 —	219 49 11 7	M. Van Buren* John Sergeant Henry Lee Amos Elmaker W. M. Wilkins
1836	Martin Van Buren*..... W. H. Harrison..... Hugh L. White..... Daniel Webster..... Willie P. Mangum.....	N. Y. O. Tenn. Mass. N. C.	Dem. Whig. Whig. Whig. Whig.	761,549 — 736,656 — —	170 73 26 14 11	R. M. Johnson* Francis Granger John Tyler William Smith
1840	W. H. Harrison*..... Martin Van Buren..... James G. Birney.....	O. N. Y. N. Y.	Whig. Dem. Lib.	1,275,017 1,128,702 7,059	234 60 —	John Tyler* R. M. Johnson L. W. Tazewell James K. Polk Thomas Earle
1844	James K. Polk*..... Henry Clay..... James G. Birney.....	Tenn. Ky. N. Y.	Dem. Whig. Lib.	1,337,243 1,299,068 62,300	170 105 —	George M. Dallas* T. Frelinghuysen Thomas Morris
1848	Zachary Taylor*..... Lewis Cass..... Martin Van Buren.....	La. Mich. N. Y.	Whig. Dem. F. Soil.	1,360,101 1,220,544 291,263	163 127 —	Millard Fillmore* William O. Butler Charles F. Adams
1852	Franklin Pierce*..... Winfield Scott..... John P. Hale..... Daniel Webster.....	N. H. N. J. N. H. Mass.	Dem. Whig. Whig. Whig.	1,601,474 1,380,576 156,149 1,670	254 42 — —	William R. King* William A. Graham George W. Julian
1856	James Buchanan*..... John C. Fremont..... Millard Fillmore.....	Pa. Cal. N. Y.	Dem. Rep. Amer.	1,838,169 1,341,264 874,538	174 114 8	J. C. Breckinridge* William L. Dayton A. J. Donelson
1860	Abraham Lincoln*..... Stephen A. Douglas..... J. C. Breckinridge..... John Bell.....	Ill. Ill. Ky. Tenn.	Rep. Dem. Dem. Union.	1,866,352 1,375,157 845,763 589,581	180 12 72 33	Hannibal Hamlin* H. V. Johnson Joseph Lane Edward Everett
1864	Abraham Lincoln*..... George B. McClellan.....	Ill. N. J.	Rep. Dem.	2,216,067 1,808,725	212 21	Andrew Johnson* George H. Pendleton
1868	Ulysses S. Grant*..... Horatio Seymour.....	Ill. N. Y.	Rep. Dem.	3,015,071 2,709,615	214 80	Schuyler Colfax* F. P. Blair, Jr.
1872	Ulysses S. Grant*..... Horace Greeley..... Charles O'Conor..... James Black..... Thomas A. Hendricks..... B. Gratz Brown..... Charles J. Jenkins..... David Davis.....	Ill. N. Y. N. Y. Pa. Ind. Mo. Ga. Ill.	Rep. D. & L. Dem. Temp. Dem. Dem. Dem. Ind.	3,597,070 2,834,079 29,408 5,608 — — — —	286 12 72 42 18 2 1	Henry Wilson* B. Gratz Brown John Q. Adams John Russell George W. Julian A. H. Colquitt John M. Palmer T. E. Bramlette W. S. Groesbeck Willis B. Machen N. P. Banks
1876	Samuel J. Tilden..... Rutherford B. Hayes*..... Peter Cooper..... Green Clay Smith..... James B. Walker.....	N. Y. O. N. Y. Ky. Ill.	Dem. Rep. Gre'n. Pro. Amer.	4,284,885 4,033,950 81,749 9,522 2,636	184 185 — — —	T. A. Hendricks William A. Wheeler* Samuel F. Cary Gideon T. Stewart D. Kirkpatrick

* The candidates starred in this table were elected.

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES—Continued

Elec- tion Year.	Candidates for President.	States.	Politi- cal Party.	Popular Vote.	Elect- oral Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.
1880	James A. Garfield* W. S. Hancock James B. Weaver Neal Dow John W. Phelps	O. Pa. Iowa. Me. Vt.	Rep. Dem. Gre'n'b. Pro. Amer.	4,449,053 4,442,035 307,306 10,305 707	214 155	Chester A. Arthur* William H. English B. J. Chambers H. A. Thompson S. C. Pomeroy
1884	Grover Cleveland* James G. Blaine John P. St. John Benjamin F. Butler P. D. Wigginton	N. Y. Me. Kan. Mass. Cal.	Dem. Rep. Pro. Gre'n'b. Amer.	4,911,017 4,848,334 151,809 133,825	219 182	T. A. Hendricks* John A. Logan William Daniel A. M. West
1888	Grover Cleveland Benjamin Harrison* Clinton B. Fisk Alson J. Streeter R. H. Cowdry James L. Curtis	N. Y. Ind. N. J. Ill. Ill. N. Y.	Dem. Rep. Pro. U. L. U'd L. Amer.	5,538,233 5,440,216 249,907 148,105 2,808 1,591	168 233	Allen G. Thurman Levi P. Morton* John A. Brooks C. E. Cunningham W. H. T. Wakefield James B. Greer
1892	Grover Cleveland* Benjamin Harrison James B. Weaver John Bidwell Simon Wing	N. Y. Ind. Iowa. Cal. Mass.	Dem. Rep. Peop. Pro. Soc. L.	5,556,195 5,176,108 1,041,028 264,133 21,164	277 145 22	Adlai E. Stevenson* Whitelaw Reid James G. Field James B. Cranfill Charles H. Matchett
1896	William McKinley* William J. Bryan William J. Bryan Joshua Levering John M. Palmer Charles H. Matchett Charles E. Bentley	O. Neb. Neb. Md. Ill. N. Y. Neb.	Rep. Dem. Peop. Pro. N. Dem. Soc. L. Nat.	7,104,779 6,502,925 132,007 133,148 36,274 13,969	271 176	Garret A. Hobart* Arthur Sewall Thomas E. Watson Hale Johnson Simon B. Buckner Matthew Maguire James H. Southgate
1900	William McKinley* William J. Bryan John G. Woolley Wharton Barker Eugene V. Debs Jos. F. Malloney J. F. R. Leonard Seth H. Ellis	O. Neb. Ill. Pa. Ind. Mass. Ia. O.	Rep. Dem. P. Pro. M. P. Soc. D. Soc. L. U. C. U. R.	7,207,923 6,358,133 208,914 50,373 87,814 39,739 1,059 5,698	292 155	Theodore Roosevelt* Adlai E. Stevenson Henry B. Metcalf Ignatius Donnelly Job Harriman Valentine Remmel John G. Woolley Samuel T. Nicholson
1904	Theodore Roosevelt* Alton B. Parker Eugene V. Debs Silas C. Swallow Thomas E. Watson Charles H. Corrigan	N. Y. N. Y. Ind. Pa. Ga. N. Y.	Rep. Dem. Soc. Pro. Peop. Soc. L.	7,623,486 5,077,911 402,283 258,536 117,183 31,249	336 140	Charles W. Fairbanks* Henry G. Davis Benjamin Hanford George W. Carroll Thomas H. Tibbles William W. Cox
1908	William H. Taft* William J. Bryan Eugene V. Debs Eugene W. Chafin Thos. E. Watson August Gillhaus Thos. L. Hisgen	O. Neb. Ind. Wisc. Ga. N. Y. Mass.	Rep. Dem. Soc. Pro. Peop. Soc. L. Ind.	7,678,908 6,409,104 420,793 253,840 29,100 13,825 82,872	321 162	James S. Sherman* John W. Kern Benjamin Hanford Aaron S. Watkins Samuel Williams Donald L. Munro John Temple Graves

*The candidates starred in this table were elected.

CHAPTER XXXV

How We Are Governed

THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES—STATE AND TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The United States of America is a republic. The authority and powers of the government are limited and defined by the Constitution, a written document adopted by a constitutional convention in 1787 and ratified by the thirteen original states December 7, 1787, to May 27, 1790. The Constitution went into effect March 4, 1789, in the eleven states which had previously ratified it.

The national government has three distinct branches—executive, legislative, and judicial.

The Executive Branch

The executive power of the government is vested in the president of the United States of America. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office, they devolve on the vice-president. The president conducts the affairs of the nation through Executive Departments, which were not established by the Constitution, but which have been created, and their duties defined, by acts of Congress. The heads of departments form the "official family" of the president, called the Cabinet. They are appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate and can be removed at his discretion. Members of the Cabinet receive a salary of \$12,000 a year.

The President of the United States

Qualifications.—The president must be a natural born citizen of the United States, at least thirty-five years of age, and for at least fourteen years a resident of the United States.

Compensation.—The president receives a salary of \$75,000 a year, the White House is provided as his official residence, and his traveling expenses, not to exceed \$25,000 a year, are paid by the government.

Time and Manner of Election.—The people of the United States do not vote directly for the president and vice-president. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each year divisible by four, electors are chosen in each state. The number of electors in each state is equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to

which that state is entitled in the Congress. The electors thus chosen form the "electoral college." The electors meet at their respective state capitals on the second Monday in January following their election, and cast their votes for president and vice-president of the United States. On the second Wednesday in February, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, the electoral votes are counted. The persons receiving a majority of the whole number of votes cast for president and vice-president are declared elected. If no person has a majority of all the votes cast, the House of Representatives elects the president from among the three persons having the highest number of votes and the Senate elects the vice-president from the two persons having the highest number of votes.

Term of Office.—The president holds office for four years. He is eligible for re-election, but custom has decreed that no person shall fill the office for more than two successive terms. The president is inaugurated on March 4th, of the year following his election, the oath of office being administered by the Chief Justice of the United States at the Capitol.

Powers and Duties.—The president is the commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy; has authority to approve or veto legislation enacted by Congress; to appoint federal judges, representatives to foreign countries and other officers; to grant pardons; to make treaties, with the approval of the Senate; to convene Congress, and to execute the laws of the country.

The Vice-President of the United States

Qualifications.—They are the same as for the office of president.

Compensation—The vice-president receives a salary of \$12,000 a year.

Time and Manner of Election.—The method of election of the vice-president is substantially the same as that of the president. The slight differences have already been noted.

Powers and Duties.—The vice-president is the presiding officer of the Senate. He is not a member of that body, however, and does not have the right to vote except in case of a tie.

Succession to the Presidency.—In case of the death, resignation or inability of the president, the vice-president immediately succeeds to that office. In case of the death or disability of the vice-president also, the secretary of state (if he is qualified to be elected president), and after him the secretary of the treasury, secretary of war, attorney-general, postmaster-general, secretary of the navy, secretary of interior, secretary of agriculture and secretary of commerce and labor, in this order, will hold the office of president until the disability ceases or another president is chosen.

Department of State

Duties of Secretary of State.—The secretary of state is charged, under the direction of the president, with the duties appertaining to correspondence with the public ministers and the consuls of the United States, and with the representatives of foreign powers accredited to the United States; and to negotiations of whatever character relating to the

foreign affairs of the United States. He has the custody of the Great Seal of the United States, and countersigns and affixes such seal to all executive proclamations, to various commissions, and to warrants for the extradition of fugitives from justice. He is the custodian of the treaties made with foreign states, and of the laws of the United States. He grants and issues passports, and exequaturs for foreign consuls in the United States are issued through his office. He publishes the laws and resolutions of Congress, amendments to the Constitution, and proclamations declaring the admission of new states into the Union. Salary \$12,000.

There are about 1,100 consular representatives of the United States of the several grades abroad. Consul-generals receive salaries of \$3,000 to \$12,000. Consuls, \$2,000 to \$8,000. Vice-consuls, deputy-consuls, consular assistants, and consular agents may receive salaries or fees.

Department of the Treasury

Duties of Secretary of the Treasury.—The secretary of the treasury is charged by law with the management of the national finances. He prepares plans for the improvement of the revenue and for the support of the public credit; superintends the collection of the revenue and directs the forms of keeping and rendering public accounts and of making returns; grants warrants for all moneys drawn from the treasury in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and for the payment of moneys into the treasury; and annually submits to Congress estimates of the probable revenues and disbursements of the government. He also controls the coinage and printing of money; the administration of the life-saving, revenue-cutter, and the public health and marine-hospital branches of the public service. Salary \$12,000.

Department of War

Duties of Secretary of War.—The secretary of war is head of the War Department, and performs such duties as are required of him by law or may be enjoined upon him by the president concerning the military service.

He also has supervision of the United States Military Academy at West Point and of military education in the army, of the Board of Ordnance and Fortification, of the various battlefield commissions, and of the publication of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion.

He has charge of all matters relating to national defense and sea-coast fortifications, army ordnance, and river and harbor regulation and improvement. Salary \$12,000.

Department of Justice

Duties of Attorney-General.—The attorney-general is the head of the Department of Justice and the chief law officer of the government. He represents the United States in matters involving legal questions; he gives his advice and opinion, when they are required by the president or by the heads of the other Executive Departments, on questions of law arising in the administration of their respective departments; he appears

in the Supreme Court of the United States in cases of especial gravity and importance; and he exercises a general superintendence and direction over United States attorneys and marshals in all judicial districts in the states and territories. Salary \$12,000.

Post-Office Department

Duties of Postmaster-General.—The postmaster-general has the direction and management of the Post-Office Department. He appoints all officers and employees of the department, except the four assistant postmasters-general and the purchasing agent, who are appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; appoints all postmasters whose compensation does not exceed \$1,000; makes postal treaties with foreign governments, by and with the advice and consent of the president; awards and executes contracts, and directs the management of the domestic and foreign mail service. Salary \$12,000.

Department of the Navy

Duties of the Secretary of the Navy.—The secretary of the navy performs such duties as the president of the United States, who is commander-in-chief, may assign him, and has the general superintendence of construction, manning, armament, equipment, and employment of vessels of war. Salary \$12,000.

Department of Interior

Duties of Secretary of the Interior.—The secretary of the interior is charged with the supervision of public business relating to patents for inventions; pensions and bounty lands; the public lands and surveys; the Indians; education; the Geological Survey and Reclamation Service; the Hot Springs Reservation, Arkansas; Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming and the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant parks, California, and other national parks; distribution of appropriations for agricultural and mechanical colleges in the states and territories; and supervision of certain hospitals and eleemosynary institutions in the District of Columbia. He also exercises certain powers and duties in relation to the territories of the United States. Salary \$12,000.

Department of Agriculture

Duties of Secretary of Agriculture.—The secretary exercises personal supervision of public business relating to the agricultural industry. He appoints all the officers and employees of the department with the exception of the assistant secretary and the chief of the Weather Bureau, who are appointed by the president, and directs the management of all the bureaus, divisions, offices, and the Forest Service, embraced in the department. He has control of the quarantine stations for imported cattle, of interstate quarantine rendered necessary by sheep and cattle diseases, and of the inspection of cattle-carrying vessels; and directs the inspection of food products under the meat inspection and pure-food and

drugs laws. He is charged with the duty of issuing rules and regulations for the protection, maintenance, and care of the National Forest Reserves. Salary \$12,000.

Department of Commerce and Labor

Duties of Secretary of Commerce and Labor.—The secretary of commerce and labor is charged with the work of promoting the commerce of the United States, and its mining, manufacturing, shipping, fishery, transportation, and labor interests. His duties also comprise the investigation of the organization and management of corporations (excepting railroads) engaged in interstate commerce; the gathering and publication of information regarding labor interests and labor controversies in this and other countries; the administration of the Light-House Service, and the aid and protection to shipping thereby; the taking of the census; the making of coast and geodetic surveys; the collecting of statistics relating to foreign and domestic commerce; the inspection of steamboats, and the enforcement of laws relating thereto for the protection of life and property; the supervision of the fisheries as administered by the federal government; the supervision and control of the Alaskan fur-seal, salmon, and other fisheries; the jurisdiction over merchant vessels, their registry, licensing, measurement, entry, clearance, transfers, movement of their cargoes and passengers, and laws relating thereto, and to seamen of the United States; the supervision of the immigration of aliens; the custody, construction, maintenance, and application of standards of weights and measurements; and the gathering and supplying of information regarding industries and markets for the fostering of manufacturing. He has power to call upon other departments for statistical data obtained by them. Salary \$12,000.

Interstate Commerce Commission

The Interstate Commerce Commission is composed of seven members, each receiving a salary of \$10,000 per annum. The regulating statutes apply to all common carriers engaged in the transportation of oil or other commodity, except water and except natural or artificial gas, by means of pipe lines, or partly by pipe line and partly by rail, or partly by pipe line and partly by water, and to common carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad (or partly by railroad and partly by water when both are used under a common control, management, or arrangement for a continuous carriage or shipment). The statutes apply generally to interstate traffic, including import and domestic traffic, and also that which is carried wholly within any territory of the United States. Only traffic transported wholly within a single state is excepted.

The commission has jurisdiction on complaint and after full hearing to determine and prescribe reasonable rates, regulations, and practices, and order reparation to injured shippers; to require any carriers to cease and desist from unjust discrimination or undue preference, and to institute and carry on proceedings for enforcement of the law. The commission may also inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers subject to the provisions of the regulating statutes.

Civil Service Commission

The purpose of the civil-service act, as declared in its title, is "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States." It provides for the appointment of three commissioners (one at a salary of \$4,500, two at \$4,000), not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same political party, and makes it the duty of the commission to aid the president, as he may request, in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect. The act requires that the rules shall provide, among other things, for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applications for the classified service, the making of appointments from among those passing with highest grades, an apportionment of appointments in the department at Washington among the states and territories, a period of probation before absolute appointment and the prohibition of the use of official authority to coerce the political action of any person or body. The act also provides for investigations touching the enforcement of the rules, and forbids, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both, the solicitation by any person in the service of the United States of contributions to be used for political purposes from persons in such service, or the collection of such contributions by any person in a government building.

Classified Service.—There are about 352,000 positions in the executive civil service, of which 206,637 are classified subject either to competitive examination under the civil-service rules or to a merit system governing appointments at navy-yards. In the latter class are about 18,000 mechanics and skilled workmen. The total expenditure for salaries in the executive civil service is about \$200,000,000. Persons merely employed as laborers or workmen and persons nominated for confirmation by the Senate are exempted from the requirements of classification. Within these limits certain classes of positions are excepted from examination, among them being employees at post-offices not having free delivery, exclusive of postmasters of the fourth class in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, who were made subject to examination under an executive order approved November 30, 1908, Indians in the Indian service, attorneys, pension examining surgeons, field deputy marshals, and a few employees whose duties are of an important confidential or fiduciary nature.

The Legislative Branch

All legislative powers of the national government are vested in the Congress of the United States, which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Senators and representatives each receive a salary of \$7,500 a year. The speaker of the House of Representatives receives \$12,000 a year. They also receive a mileage fee of 20 cents per mile going to and returning from each regular session, and an allowance for newspaper, stationery, clerk hire and other necessary expenditures.

Sessions.—A Congress begins on the 4th day of March in every odd-numbered year and continues until the second succeeding 4th day of March.

Such "Congress shall assemble at least once in every year." This meeting is called a session, and the regular date for its commencement is the first Monday in December. A Congress has thus two sessions. The first, called the "Long Session," commencing on the first Monday in December in an odd-numbered year continues until the next succeeding spring or summer. The second, or "Short Session," commencing on the first Monday in December in an even-numbered year, continues until the next 4th day of March.

Senate of the United States

The Senate is composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years.

Qualifications.—A senator must have attained to the age of thirty years and have been nine years a citizen of the United States. He must be an inhabitant of the state for which he is chosen, and cannot hold any civil office under the United States during his term of office, nor serve as a presidential elector.

House of Representatives

The House of Representatives is composed of 433 members chosen every second year (the even-numbered years) by the people of the several states.

Qualifications.—A representative must have attained to the age of twenty-five years and have been seven years a citizen of the United States. He must be an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen and cannot hold any civil office under the United States during his term of office nor serve as a presidential elector. By custom he is a resident of the district from which he is chosen.

Election.—The number of representatives to which each state is entitled is determined by Congress after each decennial census. Congress has fixed the time of their election as the "Tuesday next after the first Monday in November" in every even-numbered year.

Powers of Congress.—To raise revenue; to regulate commerce, currency, postal service, citizenship, patents and copyrights; to define crimes; to govern territories, and to regulate military and naval affairs.

The Judicial Branch

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a Supreme Court, nine Circuit Courts, nine Circuit Courts of Appeal, eighty-six District Courts, a Court of Claims, a Court of Customs Appeals and a Commerce Court. Judges of the United States courts are appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate and serve during good behavior.

State Government

The governments of the several states differ from one another, yet strongly resemble one other. Each state (1) has a popular government; (2) has a written constitution; (3) has the three great departments of government—executive, legislative and judicial; (4) supports a system of public schools; (5) provides for a system of local self-government; (6) makes most of the laws that regulate the citizen in his daily pursuits.

The Executive Department

At the head of this department is the governor, elected by the people, for a term of one to four years. It is his duty to see that the laws are executed. He may call to his assistance judges and sheriffs and, in case of need, the militia of the state. When public business is conducted with another state, the governor acts in the name of the state. In general his duties in the state correspond to those of the president in the nation. He sends a message to the legislature at the opening of its session, informing it of the conditions throughout the state, and in time of pressing need may call the legislature in extra session.

The Legislative Department

The legislature of a state is always divided into two branches—a Senate and a House of Representatives. In some states the lower house is called the Assembly, in others the House of Delegates, in New Jersey the General Assembly. In many of the states the whole legislature is called the General Assembly.

Both the Senate and the lower house are representative bodies. The counties or towns and cities are represented in the lower house according to population, determined by a census taken every five or ten years. The state is divided into senatorial districts from each of which a senator is elected. The minimum age for senators is generally higher than for representatives, and their term is usually longer.

The Judicial Department

The lowest court is conducted by a justice of the peace or magistrate, who acts in the name of the state. He renders decisions only in small and unimportant cases.

The next court is called the Circuit Court, the District Court, the Superior Court, the Supreme Court or the Court of Common Pleas.

It sits in the court house at the county seat. The same judge may serve in several counties. The judges are generally elected, but in some states appointed by the governor. Appeals from the lower court are taken to the Supreme Court, or Court of Appeals, the highest court of the state. It usually meets at the capital of the state. In some states there is an intermediate court between the lower and higher, which hears appeals in certain classes of cases.

Local Government

Every state and territory is divided into counties (in Louisiana called parishes). In the southern states and in many of the western states the county—outside of towns and cities—assumes most of the functions of local government. Each county has a county seat where the public business is transacted. Most of this business is done by a Board of County Commissioners or Supervisors, called in some states the county court; in others the levy court, because it levies the taxes. There are no county commissioners in Rhode Island.

As a rule county commissioners fix the rate of taxation for the county,

appropriate money for the payment of the salaries of county officers and to meet the other expenses of county government, make contracts for building and repairing roads and bridges, appoint subordinate county officials and represent the county in the courts when it is sued for damages.

At every county seat one or more judges sit for the trial of cases. These judges are generally state officers, but they receive the assistance of several county officers.

The sheriff carries out the orders of the judge. He has the custody of prisoners, executes the death penalty, sells property, and preserves peace and order. When necessary he may call to his aid deputies or helpers.

The prosecuting attorney, called also the state's attorney, the district attorney, the county attorney, or the solicitor, appears in the county court and presents the case against a criminal.

The coroner takes charge of the body of a person found dead or who dies mysteriously, and inquires into the cause of death. If foul play is suspected, he impanels a jury and holds an "inquest." In some states in case of a vacancy by death, resignation or inability to act of the sheriff he assumes the duties of that office.

The clerk of the county court or prothonotary keeps the records of the county court. In some states he keeps a record of deeds and mortgages, issues marriage certificates and records births and deaths.

Above officers are found in almost every state; in many states there are also county treasurer, county auditor, county assessors, county tax collectors, register or recorder of deeds, superintendent of schools, probate or Orphans' Court.

The Township

In the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western States, township government is organized. It usually supports public schools, cares for public roads, and helps the poor. In many states it levies and collects taxes for these purposes. The township officers vary greatly in different states. The more usual ones are supervisor or trustee who cares for roads and bridges, school directors who control the public schools, township clerk, assessors, tax collector, auditors, constable who assists the justice of the peace and is the peace officer of the township, and overseers of the poor.

The Town

The town is characteristic of New England. Its most important feature is the town meeting, of all citizens, usually held once a year in the town hall. At this meeting the rate of taxation is fixed, money is appropriated, by-laws are passed and officers are elected. The principal officers are selectmen who carry into effect the measures adopted at the town meeting, town clerk who keeps the records, assessors, tax collector, town treasurer, overseers of the poor, constable, surveyor of highways who keep roads and bridges in repair, fence viewers who settle disputes over boundaries, and field driver or pound keeper who takes charge of stray animals.

The Village or Borough

In thickly settled communities, a village is organized under a charter from the state. It usually has a president or mayor or chief burgess and a body of trustees, commissioners, councilmen or burgesses, who pass local laws or ordinances, levy taxes, and provide for police and fire protection, street paving, sewerage, etc.; and school directors, who provide for the needs of the schools. It may also have a clerk, a treasurer, assessors, a tax collector, a constable, and a street commissioner.

The City

When the village or borough grows to a large size, it becomes a city. It is still organized under a charter from the state, but with broader functions and greater powers. The city always has two departments—executive and legislative—the judicial department being a part of the state government.

The mayor is the executive officer of the city. His powers and functions vary greatly. He is nearly always elected by the people, but in a few cases chosen by City Council. His term of office varies from one to four years. His chief duty is to carry out the ordinances of Council. In most cities he can veto an ordinance, but it can be passed over his veto by a two-thirds or three-fourths vote.

The business of a city is usually carried on by departments such as: Department of Police, with police commissioners; Department of Highways, with a street commissioner and engineer or surveyor; Department of Public Safety, with fire and health commissioners, building, boiler and plumbing inspectors; Department of Charities, with overseers of the poor; Department of Education, with school commissioners; Department of Parks, with park commissioners; Department of Finance, with an auditor or comptroller, and Department of Law, with a city solicitor or corporation counsel.

The City Council is the legislative department of the city. In large cities it often has two branches, whose members are called aldermen and councilmen. These members are usually elected by wards. They meet in the City Hall and make laws, called ordinances, for the government of the city. Their powers and limitations are defined by the city charter and the laws passed by the state legislature.

The Commission Plan.—In many cities in Texas, Iowa, Kansas and Massachusetts the "Commission" plan of city government has been adopted. The commission consists of a mayor and a small body of councilmen or aldermen, each the head of a department, and all elected by the whole body of voters without regard to wards or precincts and usually without regard to party. The commission both makes the laws and executes them. The mayor is chairman of the commission but does not have the veto power.

BOOK IV

The Conventions, Platforms and Candidates

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
AND PLATFORM

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
AND PLATFORM

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

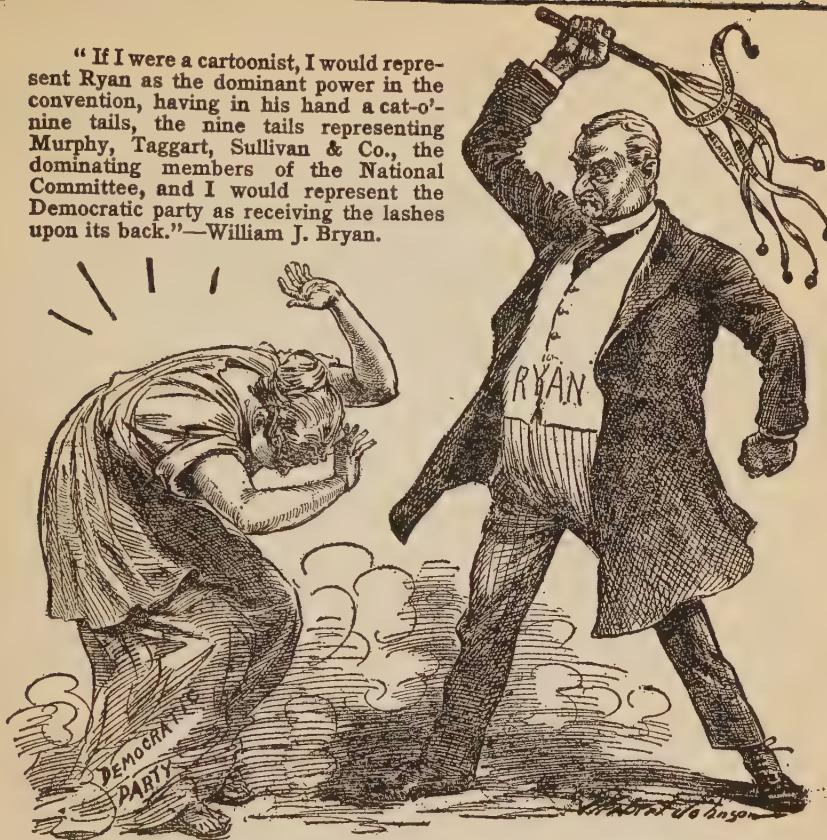
FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE
PARTY AND PLATFORM

PROGRESSIVE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

SOCIALIST CONVENTION, PLATFORM
AND CANDIDATES

PROHIBITIONIST CONVENTION, PLATFORM
AND CANDIDATES

"If I were a cartoonist, I would represent Ryan as the dominant power in the convention, having in his hand a cat-o'-nine tails, the nine tails representing Murphy, Taggart, Sullivan & Co., the dominating members of the National Committee, and I would represent the Democratic party as receiving the lashes upon its back."—William J. Bryan.



HERE'S YOUR CARTOON, MR. BRYAN

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INTERESTS

After the election of Judge Parker as temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention, Mr. Bryan made the following comment:

"The smoke of battle has cleared away and the country is now able to look upon the amazing spectacle of a national convention controlled by a national committee, that committee controlled by a sub-committee of sixteen, the sub-committee controlled by a group of eight men, these men controlled by 'Boss' Murphy, and 'Boss' Murphy controlled by Thomas Fortune Ryan.

"Probably never before in the history of the country have we seen two men attending a national convention and pulling the strings in the open view of the public.

"If I were a cartoonist, I would represent Ryan as the dominant power in the convention, having in his hand a cat-o'-nine tails, the nine tails representing Murphy, Taggart, Sullivan & Co., the dominating members of the National Committee, and I would represent the Democratic party as receiving the lashes upon its back."

CHAPTER XXXVI

Republican National Convention of 1912

FIRST ATTACK ON THE CONTESTED DELEGATES—SENATOR ROOT ELECTED TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN—SENATOR ROOT'S SPEECH—SECOND ATTACK ON THE CONTESTED DELEGATES—HADLEY DEMONSTRATION TURNED FOR ROOSEVELT—ROOSEVELT FORCES OVERRULED—ROOSEVELT DENOUNCES CONVENTION, PREDICTING NEW PARTY—THE FIGHT RENEWED—ROBBERY CHARGED IN CALIFORNIA CASE—JOHNSON'S POWERFUL SPEECH—SPECTATORS JOIN IN VOTING AND JOKE ABOUT THE "STEAM ROLLER"—WASHINGTON CASE BITTERLY FOUGHT—JOHNSON LEAVES CONVENTION AND ISSUES STATEMENT—TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION MADE PERMANENT—ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT READ—THE PLATFORM ADOPTED—TAFT AND SHERMAN RENOMINATED.

The fifteenth National Convention of the Republican party, held in the Coliseum at Chicago on June 18-22, 1912, was marked by three epochs. First was the election of the temporary chairman; second, the effort to unseat the contested delegates; third, the renomination of William H. Taft and James S. Sherman as the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively, of the party. The proceedings of this convention, which will stand in history for its importance as affecting presidential nominations, were marked by a struggle as tense and bitter as might well be without the participants coming to physical combat, and their culmination left the party weakened and torn by dissension.

First Attack on the Contested Delegates

At two minutes past noon there came the pounding of the gavel as Victor Rosewater, the chairman of the National Committee, called the convention to order. Scarcely had the Rev. Father Callaghan concluded the opening prayer, when Governor Hadley of Missouri, the Roosevelt floor leader, was on his feet with a motion to substitute a list of 78 contesting Roosevelt delegates on the temporary roll, and the battle had started. Ex-Congressman James E. Watson of Indiana, the Taft floor leader, made the point of order that the motion was not in order until the convention had been organized, and Governor Hadley took the floor for an argument against the point of order. The Missourian, then as throughout the convention, created a most favorable impression on the

whole body of delegates by his courteous and pleasing manner, his exact propriety and his incisive, clean-cut logic.

In forceful style Governor Hadley attacked the right of the National Committee to bind the convention to a temporary roll prepared by the committee. He quoted as a precedent a decision of George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, presiding in the convention in 1880, who recognized a motion to amend the temporary roll by substituting delegates, and also the convention of 1864, cited by Senator Hoar. He reviewed the attacks made on the integrity of the roll as prepared by the National Committee, and concluded, amid a storm of applause, by saying:

"I do not say that these charges are true. I sat in that committee and know some of them are true. But true or false, let us meet them here. Let us see why fifteen members of the committee believe these votes fraudulent and void. Just so sure as you neglect to meet that question and settle it honestly, the American people will say that you have failed in your duty. We say that this convention should not proceed to the regular business of this meeting until it has decided this question—decided whether these charges of corruption are true, and purged the roll of this convention of those fraudulently elected delegates."

Mr. Watson closed the argument for his point of order. He took up the precedents cited, and showed that in the convention of 1880 the temporary organization was effected first, while in that of 1864 there was no national committee to make up the temporary roll. Since 1868 he stated the temporary roll prepared by the national committee had always stood until the convention was organized.

Senator Root Elected Temporary Chairman

Chairman Rosewater sustained the point of order and overruled Governor Hadley's motion. Immediately the latter appealed from the decision, and Mr. Watson moved to lay the appeal on the table. The appeal and the motion were both ruled out of order, and the chairman after nominating Senator Elihu Root of New York as the choice of the National Committee, asked if there were any other nominations.

Henry F. Cochems, of Wisconsin, placed in nomination Governor Francis E. McGovern, of Wisconsin.

The nominations were seconded by Job E. Hedges of New York, D. Lawrence Groner of Virginia and Senator Bradley of Kentucky, who spoke for Senator Root, and by Governor Hadley of Missouri, Governor Johnson of California, William Flinn of Pennsylvania, Francis J. Heney of California, for Governor McGovern.

Walter L. Houser, of Wisconsin, Senator LaFollette's campaign manager, declared the Wisconsin delegation, obeying the wishes of LaFollette, had decided to support no candidate for temporary chairman. This called forth a reply from Cochems. "As I announced at first," he said, "I presented the name of Governor McGovern in my individual capacity as a LaFollette delegate from Wisconsin, I challenge any member of the Wisconsin delegation to vote for Root and return to that state."

This ended the nominations. Secretary Hayward announced that the roll would be called not by states, but by individual delegates, and amid an uproar the clerk began to call the names. The calling of 1178 names, and the recording of the responses, was a tedious matter, and was prolonged by the continued disorder and the constant interruptions of the Roosevelt leaders and delegates to protest against recording the votes of contested delegates as the latter's names were called. The result of the vote was finally announced as follows:

State	Root	McGovern	State	Root	McGovern
Alabama (24).....	22	2	New Mexico (8).....	6	2
Arizona (6).....	6	..	New York (90).....	76	13
Arkansas (18).....	17	1	North Carolina (24).....	3	21
California.....	2	24	North Dakota (10).....	..	9
Colorado (12).....	12	..	Ohio (48).....	14	34
Connecticut (14).....	14	..	Oklahoma (20).....	4	16
Delaware (6).....	6	..	Oregon (10).....	3	6
Florida (12).....	12	..	Pennsylvania (76).....	12	64
Georgia (28).....	22	6	Rhode Island (10).....	10	..
Idaho (8).....	..	8	South Carolina (18).....	11	7
Illinois (58).....	9	49	South Dakota (10).....	..	10
Indiana (30).....	20	10	Tennessee (24).....	23	1
Iowa (26).....	16	10	Texas (40).....	31	8
Kansas (20).....	2	18	Utah (8).....	7	1
Kentucky (26).....	23	3	Vermont (8).....	6	2
Louisiana (20).....	20	..	Virginia (24).....	22	2
Maine (12).....	..	12	Washington (14).....	14	..
Maryland (16).....	8	8	West Virginia (16).....	..	16
Massachusetts (36).....	18	18	Wisconsin (26).....	..	13
Michigan (30).....	19	10	Wyoming (6).....	6	..
Minnesota (24).....	..	24	Alaska (2).....	2	..
Mississippi (20).....	16	4	Dist. of Col. (2).....	2	..
Missouri (36).....	16	20	Hawaii (6).....	..	6
Montana (8).....	8	..	Philippine Islands (2)...	2	..
Nebraska (16).....	..	16	Porto Rico (2).....	2	..
Nevada (6).....	6	..	Totals.....	558	502
New Hampshire (8).....	8	..			
New Jersey (28).....	..	28			

Senator Root's Speech

Senator Root was escorted to the chairman's table, presented with the gavel, and delivered his keynote speech. Senator Root began by reviewing the history of the Republican party. He discussed the tariff situation and the need for currency reform. He spoke of what had been accomplished during the Taft administration in strengthening the Interstate Commerce Commission and in enforcing the Sherman law. The act regulating the hours of labor for railroad employees, the employers' liability act, the safety appliance act, the progress made in the conservation of our natural resources, the establishment of the postal savings banks and the advancement of the Panama Canal were some of the illustrations referred to by Senator Root to show the accomplishments of the Republican party during the present administration. In summing them up he said:



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PRESIDENT TAFT AND HIS FAMILY

Robert Taft Helen Taft Charles Taft
Mrs. Taft President Taft



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

William Barnes, Jr.

Chairman of New York Republican State Committee

PROMINENT REPUBLICAN LEADERS

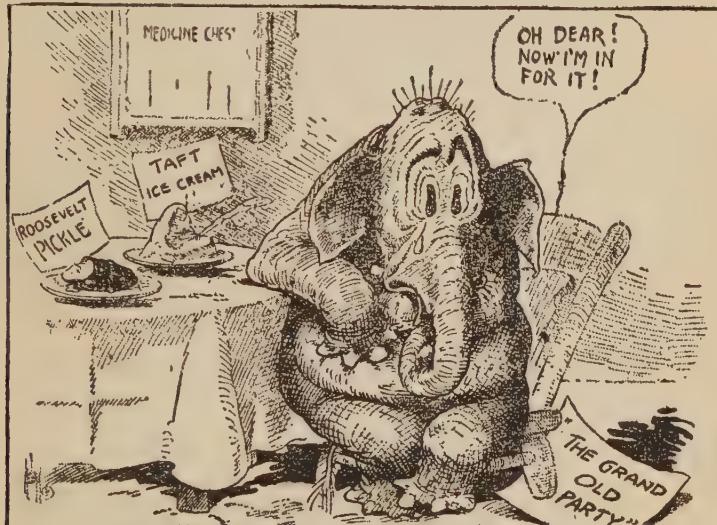


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Elihu Root

U. S. Senator from New York and Chairman of the Republican Convention

"With this record of consistent policy and faithful service, the Republican party can rest with confidence on its title to command the approval of the American people. We have a right to say that we can be trusted to preserve and maintain the American system of free representative government handed down to us by our fathers. At our hands it will be no empty form when the officers of the national government subscribe the solemn oath required of them by law: 'That I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies,



TROUBLE IN THE PARTY

foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

The completion of the temporary organization and the adoption of rules were matters quickly disposed of. Then Mr. Watson moved to appoint the usual committees. As a substitute motion Governor Hadley renewed his motion to substitute the contesting Roosevelt delegates for Taft delegates on the temporary roll, and with this motion pending as the unfinished business the convention adjourned until Wednesday.

After the prayer by the Rev. Joseph Stoly, with which Wednesday's session of the convention was opened, Chairman Root announced the unfinished business of the day.

Second Attack on the Contested Delegates

As Governor Hadley advanced to the front of the stage to open the debate, a round of cheers from the Roosevelt forces greeted him. When the tumult subsided Governor Hadley began an explanation of the situa-

tion confronting the convention. He reviewed the events of Tuesday, leading up to the ruling of National Committee Chairman Rosewater, which quashed the Hadley motion to purge the temporary roll. He made an earnest plea that personalities be left out of the debate, declaring the question was so clearly one of principle that it should not be involved by anything else. It was not a question of any man's "candidacy," not a question of the next campaign, but embraced the very existence of the Republican party itself.

Then followed a series of speeches punctuated by scenes of the greatest disorder and confusion. As a point was scored by each speaker it was greeted by applause and shouts of approval from his sympathizers and by jeers, cat-calls and groans from his opponents. Repeatedly the confusion became so great that the chairman was compelled to intervene and instruct the sergeant-at-arms to restore order.

James E. Watson concluded the argument against the Hadley motion. Watson asked whether the delegates felt able to judge on the merits of all the cases involved in Hadley's motion. He said that only a few of the contests had been dismissed by the speakers. "Now, you are not in a position to judge the merits of these controversies," demanded Watson. A roar of "No" came from the Taft delegates. "You are in no position, you are in no temper, if you will excuse my saying so, to judge these cases."

Hadley Demonstration Turned for Roosevelt

Watson was interrupted several times and there were many calls for Hadley. The governor appeared and was accorded the greatest demonstration of the convention up to this time. Both floor and galleries were on their feet, cheering, yelling, pounding chairs, and stamping their feet. Taft delegates joined, partly as a personal tribute to Hadley and partly as a demonstration for him as a compromise candidate. Standing on their chairs, every Roosevelt delegate cheered for Governor Hadley.

At the height of the demonstration, a woman, strikingly beautiful, appeared in the center of one of the galleries and waved a picture of Roosevelt so that all might see it. She was Mrs. William A. Davis, of Chicago. Some one began shouting: "We want Teddy!" Then the convention went wild. For forty minutes the cheering continued.

When quiet had been restored, and after Governor Hadley had made a brief statement, Mr. Watson moved to refer to the credentials committee the motion to seat the ninety-two Roosevelt delegates. Governor Deneen moved to amend so as to provide that no contested delegates should vote on the membership of the committee on credentials or on its report. Leader Watson moved to table the amendment, and a roll-call was taken.

Roosevelt Forces Overruled

When it was announced that the Taft motion to table had been carried by a vote of 564 to 510 the Taft folk broke into a cheer, to signalize the gain of six in their vote as compared with Tuesday's ballot.

Defeated, the Roosevelt forces made no further moves. Senator

Root then put the motion of Mr. Watson, made Tuesday, that the standing committees be appointed. It was adopted without objection, and the convention adjourned until Thursday.

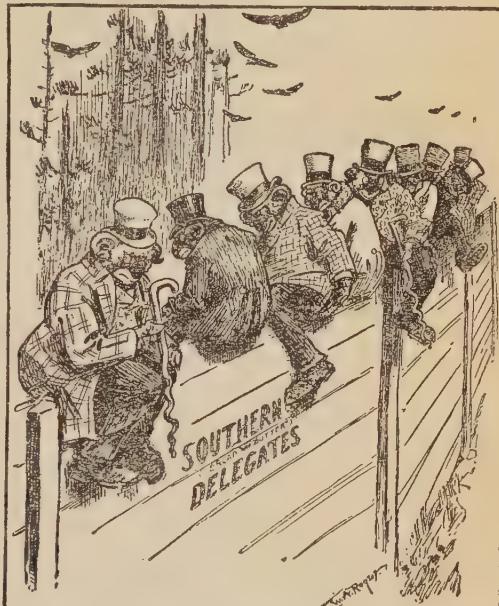
Officially the convention marked time on Thursday. Upon convening at noon it immediately took a recess until 4.00 p. m., at which time it adjourned until Friday. But otherwise the day was as busy, as exciting and as momentous as those which preceded it. The committee on organization decided to report a recommendation making the temporary organization permanent. The resolutions committee was occupied in drafting the platform to be presented to the convention, while the credentials committee was busily engaged in hearing the contest cases and in determining their action. Here the interest centered. After a precipitate bolt, the Roosevelt members reconsidered their action and returned to the committee. Throughout the day and night the committee continued its sittings, every move being bitterly fought, with the Taft men constantly in control. As each contested case was taken up in turn the Roosevelt forces made their arguments against the Taft forces; but, accompanied by charges of fraud and robbery, the Taft men were seated.

Roosevelt Denounces Convention, Predicting New Party

At the headquarters of the presidential candidates the leaders were immersed in conferences of war. Colonel Roosevelt issued an important statement in which he said:

“I decline any longer to be bound by any action the National Convention, as now constituted, may take. I decline to regard as binding any nomination it may make. I do not regard successful fraud and deliberate political theft as constituting a title to party regularity, or a claim to the support of any honest man or any party.

“If the honestly elected majority of the convention chooses to proceed



THE SOUTHERN BREAD-AND-BUTTER
DELEGATES

“On which side does our duty lie?”—From the
New York *Herald*

with business and to nominate me as the candidate of the real Republican party, I shall accept. If some among them fear to take such a stand, and the remainder choose to inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the presidency as a progressive on a progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among progressives favors my being nominated, I shall accept.

"In either case I shall make my appeal to every honest citizen in the nation, and I shall fight the campaign through, win or lose, even if I do not get a single electoral vote."

Early in the evening Colonel Roosevelt supplemented this statement with the following:

"There will probably be a new national convention, and we will then build up a new party. In a pretty positive speech I delivered I said I would run if I found there was a demand for me. I cannot say whether the action will be taken by the delegations immediately after the adjournment of the convention or not. The plans will have to be made, and it may be then or later."

When the convention met on Friday it had been decided by the credentials committee, instead of making one comprehensive report, to announce its decisions piecemeal, first reporting on Alabama, then on Arizona and so on down the alphabetical roll, the convention voting on each case as it was announced. There was a strategical reason for this. If the committee had followed the usual custom and reported on all the cases at once Governor Hadley would have immediately moved the substitution of a comprehensive roll containing the names of Roosevelt contestants. On that motion none of the seated Taft delegates whose seats were contested could have voted, and the Taft army would have been deprived of 78 votes at one full swoop. But by presenting the report piecemeal, the only Taft men disfranchised on each vote were the men who were involved in that particular case. For instance, all of the Taft men from Texas could vote on the Alabama report and so on along the line. It was right in line with the Taft policy on such matters from the start.

The first report from the credentials committee was that favoring the seating of the Taft delegates in the ninth Alabama district.

The Fight Renewed

Governor Hadley, floor leader of the Roosevelt forces, introduced R. R. McCormick to submit a minority report. It protested that J. C. Adams, of Arizona; C. A. Warnken, of Texas, and W. T. Dovell, of Washington, had no right to sit on the credentials committee because they had been elected by delegates whose states were contested. "They are, in effect, sitting as judges in their own cases," said the report. The report protested also against the sitting on the credentials committee of five members who had been members of the National Committee because they had already passed upon the contests. In conclusion the report recommended the seating of the Roosevelt delegates from the ninth Alabama District.

Governor Hadley moved that the minority report favoring the seating of the Roosevelt delegates be substituted for the majority. Mr. Watson moved to lay the motion of Governor Hadley on the table. A roll-call was demanded and seconded. It was ordered.

Heney, of California, demanded to know if the seventy-two contested delegates were to be allowed to vote on the motion. Senator Root said that the two sitting members from the ninth Alabama district whose right to seats was involved would not be allowed to vote. All others on the temporary roll would vote. Heney protested that the right of the seventy-two delegates was involved, and he made a point of order to that effect. He was overruled.

Washington's fourteen votes of aye passed the motion of Watson to lay the Hadley motion on the table and a ripple of applause ran through the hall. The majority report was adopted.

Next the report on the Arizona contests was presented, seating the Taft delegates. Sullivan, of Ohio, was then recognized to present the views of the minority on the Arizona cases. He read a brief statement. The same parliamentary tactics that marked the Alabama cases were followed. Sullivan moved the adoption of the minority report and Watson moved that it be tabled. A roll-call was demanded. The minority report was tabled 564 to 497. A roll-call was not demanded when the motion to adopt the majority report was put and carried. A *viva voce* vote adopted a motion by Watson to table Hadley's motion to substitute the minority for the majority report of the fifth Arkansas district. Another *viva voce* vote adopted the majority report and a roll-call was avoided.

Robbery Charged in California Case

W. T. Dovell, of Washington, then brought in the credentials committee report on the fourth California district. The report recommended the seating of Tryon and Meyerfield, the two Taft delegates, who up to this time had not sat with the twenty-four Roosevelt delegates from California, but have been seated on the platform and voted from there on all roll-calls. Groans, hoots and hisses from the California delegation greeted the statement in the majority report that the California primary law would in effect enforce the unit rule in its delegation and the further statement that the national committee, and not state laws, is the supreme source of party regularity.

Hugh T. Halbert, of Minnesota, brought in the minority report. He was greeted with cheers as he read the report denouncing the seating of the Taft delegates as the "tyrannical overthrow of the will of the people of California." Watson, the Taft floor leader, moved that the minority report be laid on the table, but pending that he asked that twenty minutes be allowed for discussion.

Francis J. Heney took the platform and opened the argument for the minority report. He denounced the attempt to "rob the people of California of their right representatives."

Heney declared that it was absolutely impossible under the returns

of the election to decide what the vote was in an individual district. "No one but the thirty-eight members of the national committee who voted to seat these men and the other men who occupy stolen seats would attempt to discover that vote."

Congressman Sereno Payne, of New York, took up the argument of the Taft delegates. Payne reviewed party precedent from the time of Lincoln in an effort to show that the national committees had always assumed the right to direct the manner of selecting delegates.

Floor Leader Watson took up the Taft argument when Mr. Payne had concluded. He, too, asserted the California law would have the effect of forcing the unit rule and declared that such a rule would never prevail in a national convention. "Unit rule by primary is no better than unit rule by decree of convention," said Watson. "It is robbing the people of a congressional district of the right to say who their delegates shall be. Shall the majority in Los Angeles decree and determine who shall be the delegates from San Francisco? The state is not sovereign over a congressional district," Watson concluded.

Johnson's Powerful Speech

Governor Johnson, of California, followed. He strode to the front of the stage clutching a legal document in his hand. "This question," he said, "is far more than the question of seating two individual delegates, by a report of a committee on credentials or by action of this convention. The question goes to the very root of Republicanism. It is, shall the people rule? You men of the East may sneer at the new progressivism that has come like a giant out of the West, but all thinking men recognize that the revolution is on in this country, and progressivism is sure to triumph."

Johnson denounced as unqualifiedly and absolutely false that the Taft delegates received the highest votes in the fourth district. The registrar of the county, he said, had declared it impossible to say which of the delegates had received the highest votes. "Never again," said Johnson, "will you find a convention chosen like this one. The convention of the future will be made up of delegates selected by the people and by the states, as was done in California."

The governor concluded with a tribute to Colonel Roosevelt, which started an incipient demonstration. "Theodore Roosevelt," he said, "has demonstrated in this campaign that all the people—not a part of them—have the right to rule in this nation."

A roll-call then was started on the motion to lay the minority report on the table. The California contestants lost by 542 to 529, the announcement being greeted with a great cheer by the Taft people.

Some of the contests were decided without a minority report being presented. All of them were in favor of the Taft delegates. These cases included the delegates-at-large from Georgia and Michigan, the Indiana fourth and thirteenth districts, the eleventh Kentucky and the fifth Louisiana.

The Indiana cases came next. Both majority and minority reports were submitted, the delegates-at-large being first considered. The majority favored the sitting Taft delegates, former Vice-President Fairbanks, Harry S. New, James S. Watson, the Taft floor leader, and Joseph D. Oliver. The Taft delegates were seated without a roll-call.

Spectators Join in Voting and Joke About the "Steam Roller"

On the *viva voce* votes the chorus of ayes and noes were about of the same volume, but Chairman Root always said "the ayes appear to have it." The Roosevelt men made no issue of it and there was much laughter. Lots of spectators in the gallery joined in the voting, most of them voting on both sides. "Roll the steam roller some more," shouted a delegate amid laughter.

The seventh Kentucky contest also brought out majority and minority reports. The Taft delegates were seated. The galleries continued to vote both ways. Some one set up a noise of "Choo, choo, choo," in imitation of a "steam roller" in action, while others imitated steam whistles. With utter confusion reigning, adjournment was taken until Saturday.

Immediately after the convention was called to order on Saturday the consideration of the piecemeal reports of the credentials committee was resumed.

The first report presented dealt with the Mississippi delegates-at-large. It recommended the seating of the Taft delegates. The Roosevelt people presented a minority report, but made no fight, and the Taft delegates were seated *viva voce*.

Amid a chorus of "toot toots" and "choo choos" from the galleries, the report on the contest in the second district of Mississippi was read. The report characterized the Roosevelt contest as a "paper case." There was no minority report and the vote was taken without delay. Chairman Root announced the seating of the Taft delegates. The same procedure seated two Taft delegates in the fifth, sixth and seventh Mississippi districts.

As the result of each vote was announced a chorus of shrieks, whistles, groans and cat calls greeted the statement, "the ayes have it." Way up in the rear gallery a spectator with a mechanical whistle blew two short, shrill blasts as each contest was disposed of.

One by one the contest reports were brought in, read in a near-riot of disorder and passed. The fourth North Carolina, third Oklahoma and the second Tennessee, on which there were no minority reports, went through under the gavel, about one-fourth of the delegates hearing the reading of the reports.

Washington Case Bitterly Fought

The Washington cases came next, and the convention sobered down after an admonition from Chairman Root. The majority report from the credentials committee in favor of the Taft delegates-at-large from Washington was first presented. In order that an adverse vote might not throw

out the entire state delegation, the committee reported the delegates-at-large and each district delegation separately. This permitted the contested delegates from Washington to vote upon the seating of their fellows.

The majority report held that the Roosevelt delegates-at-large from Washington were elected by a bolting convention and an illegal primary, and were not entitled to seats in the convention. Roosevelt had carried the primaries by a vote of 4 to 1.

Sullivan, of Ohio, presented a minority report, holding that the Taft contest was a "trumped-up" case, and recommending the seating of the Roosevelt delegation. Sullivan moved to substitute the minority report for the majority report, and Watson moved to table the motion.

Hugh T. Halbert, of Minnesota, spoke in support of the minority report. "The acceptance of the minority report," he declared, "would leave the Republican party but two alternatives—defeat," he said, "or Theodore Roosevelt. The party can stand defeat with honor, but cannot stand"—he hesitated—"defeat with dishonor."

A motion to lay the minority report on the table was put and carried. A motion to put the Taft delegates on the permanent roll also was put and carried.

Then came reports, seating the Taft delegates from the first, second and third Washington districts. They were all adopted.

Johnson Leaves Convention and Issues Statement

Governor Johnson, who had left the convention, gave out the following statement:

"I shall not sit in this convention during the nomination for president, nor shall I consider myself in any manner bound by its acts. Not only was a fraudulent roll foisted upon us to defeat the will of the people, but the law of the state of California, solemnly passed by that state, and acquiesced in by the president and every faction in California, has been nullified. The basic right of the people to rule and the fundamental principle of the direct primary have been outraged and denied. As the governor of California, sworn to uphold its laws, I feel that my duty is plain, and that as well my self-respect demands that I shall no longer remain in the convention. All of the California delegation are in thorough accord with me and desire to retire with me, but I have requested them to remain to carry out the general plan of the Roosevelt delegates."

The report on the eight delegates-at-large from Texas finally was received. A statement in the report that the Republican sentiment in Texas "was overwhelmingly in favor of President Taft" was greeted with groans and guffaws. A minority report recommended seating the Roosevelt delegates. On a *viva voce* vote the Taft delegates were seated.

Then came a series of reports on the district delegates from Texas. As the *viva voce* votes seating the Taft delegates were taken, the delegates laughed uproariously, whistles were blown and the galleries joined in the voting.

Temporary Organization Made Permanent

The credentials committee report as a whole then was adopted. This ended the contests and the convention took up the report of the committee on permanent organization. It recommended that the temporary organization be made permanent. The report was adopted.

Roosevelt's Statement Read

Henry J. Allen of Kansas then read the following statement from Colonel Roosevelt: "A clear majority of the delegates honestly elected to this convention were chosen by the people to nominate me. Under the direction, and with the encouragement of Mr. Taft, the majority of the national committee, by the so-called 'steam-roller' methods, and with scandalous disregard of every principle of elementary honesty and decency, stole eighty or ninety delegates, putting on the temporary roll-call a sufficient number of fraudulent delegates to defeat the legally expressed will of the people and to substitute a dishonest for an honest majority.

"The convention has now declined to purge the roll of the fraudulent delegates placed thereon by the defunct national committee and the majority which thus indorsed fraud was made a majority only because it included the fraudulent delegates themselves, who all sat as judges on one another's cases. If these fraudulent votes had not thus been cast and counted, the convention would have been purged of their presence. This action makes the convention in no proper sense any longer a Republican convention representing the real Republican party. Therefore I hope the men elected as Roosevelt delegates will now decline to vote on any matter before the convention. I do not release any delegate from his honorable obligation to vote for me if he votes at all, but under the actual conditions I hope that he will not vote at all.

"The convention as now composed has no claim to represent the voters of the Republican party. It represents nothing but successful fraud in overriding the will of the rank and file of the party. Any man nominated by the convention as now constituted would be merely the beneficiary of this successful fraud; it would be deeply discreditable to any man to accept the convention's nomination under these circumstances; and any man thus accepting it would have no claim to the support of any Republican on party grounds, and would have forfeited the right to ask the support of any honest man of any party on moral grounds."

The statement was interrupted at one point by groans and hisses. This was renewed when Mr. Roosevelt asked his followers not to vote on any other proposition in the convention. The Roosevelt delegates cheered.

The proceedings were moving along rapidly now and former Vice-President Fairbanks, chairman of the resolutions committee, was introduced to read the platform. He was greeted with applause. As he concluded Mr. Fairbanks moved the adoption of the platform.

A substitute platform presented by the LaFollette forces was laid upon the table.

The Platform Adopted

On the adoption of the platform, Barnes, the Taft leader from New York, demanded a roll-call. It was ordered. There was great interest in watching the action of the Roosevelt delegates and an outburst of cheering when the total Roosevelt strength was announced as 343, the number of delegates not voting, but a greater outburst of applause followed the announcement of 666 votes aye. The noes were 53 and 16 were absent.

Immediately Chairman Root announced a call of the roll of the states for nomination for the presidency, and Warren G. Harding arose to place President Taft in nomination.

Extolling the record of the Taft administration, Mr. Harding declared it would be regarded as "the marvel of progressive accomplishment in one administration," had it not been for the "attack of disloyalty" in the Republican ranks. He found in President Taft the "finest example of lofty patience since the immortal Lincoln bore the scourge of vengeful tongues without a murmur from his noble heart."

"Rejoicing in the gratifying record of things done," he concluded; "confident of the forward movement to the things we are pledged to do; glad of the new hopes and higher aspirations of our people and their faith in national progress and the harmony of his purpose therewith; measuring his capacity by the exactions of experience; testing his patriotism by every demand of honesty, courage and justice; knowing his devotion to his country and its people, on behalf of Ohio and one hundred millions of advancing Americans, I name for nomination, William Howard Taft."

The nomination was seconded by John Wanamaker of Philadelphia and Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University.

Michael B. Olbrich, of Wisconsin, then placed Senator LaFollette in nomination and Robert M. Pollock, of Fargo, N. D., seconded the LaFollette nomination in a brief speech of tribute.

This ended the preliminaries and the call of the states and the voting



THEY WON'T STAY PUT

began. Until Illinois was called not a vote had been cast for Roosevelt, those delegates who favored him sitting in silent protest against what they termed the theft of delegates by which President Taft's renomination was being brought about.

Taft and Sherman Renominated

Washington's fourteen votes swung a majority for Taft, and was greeted with groans and cheers. Then the rest of the roll went on in confusion. The moment the result was certain a yell swept over the hall.

The announced result of the roll-call was:

	Taft.	Cummins.	Roosevelt	LaFollette	Hughes	Not Voting.
Alabama.....	22	..	..	..	..	2
Arizona.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas.....	17	..	..	..	..	1
California.....	2	..	..	..	..	24
Colorado.....	12	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	14	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Florida.....	12	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia.....	28	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho.....	1	7	..	..	..	..
Illinois.....	2	..	52	..	..	2
Indiana.....	20	10	3	..	..	7
Iowa.....	16	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas.....	2	..	..	..	..	18
Kentucky.....	24	..	2	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	20	..	..	..	..	..
Maine.....	..	..	..	..	..	12
Maryland.....	1	..	9	..	..	5
Massachusetts.....	20	..	..	..	..	16
Michigan.....	20	..	9	..	..	1
Minnesota.....	..	..	..	..	..	24
Mississippi.....	17	..	..	..	..	3
Missouri.....	16	..	..	..	..	20
Montana.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska.....	..	..	2	..	..	14
Nevada.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	..	..	2	..	..	26
New Mexico.....	7	..	1	..	..	..
New York.....	76	..	8	..	..	6
North Carolina.....	1	..	1	..	..	22
North Dakota.....	..	..	..	10	..	..
Ohio.....	14	..	..	..	..	34
Oklahoma.....	4	..	1	..	..	15
Oregon.....	..	..	8	..	..	2
Pennsylvania.....	9	..	2	..	2	62
Rhode Island.....	10	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	16	..	..	..	..	1
South Dakota.....	..	..	5	5	..	..
Tennessee.....	23	..	1	..	..	..
Texas.....	31	..	..	..	..	8
Utah.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont.....	6	..	..	..	..	2
Virginia.....	22	..	..	..	..	1
Washington.....	14	..	..	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	..	..	..	26	..	16
Wisconsin.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Alaska.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Hawaii.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Philippines.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Porto Rico.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Totals.....	561	17	107	41	2	344

Absent, 6.

Immediately upon the formal announcement by Senator Root of the nomination of President Taft the roll-call for nominations for vice-president was announced. Alabama yielded to New York and J. Van Vechten Allcott took the platform to renominate Vice-President Sherman. Allcott's speech did not last three minutes, and it was received without enthusiasm. Harry Daugherty, for Ohio, merely moved a second for Sherman's nomination.

There were no other nominations and the call of the roll on the vice-presidential nomination was begun at 9:45 o'clock. Idaho was the first state that failed to support Sherman. Its eight votes went to Governor Hadley of Missouri. When the roll was called on Illinois, R. R. McCormick voted for Howard Gillett, a Chicago banker. Iowa put Borah on the list, giving him her ten Roosevelt votes. Minnesota's twenty-four emphatically declined to vote. Nebraska gave Senator Beveridge two votes. Fourteen delegates declined to vote. The vote of six delegates from Vermont gave Sherman one over the 540 necessary to nominate.

In the closing moments of the convention a resolution was passed under the gavel, giving the National Committee the power to fill all vacancies, and empowering the committee to declare vacant the seat of any member who "refuses to support the nominees of this convention." Former Representative Hemenway, of Indiana, introduced the resolution.

Then the convention adjourned, and the delegates filed out in absolute silence.

CHAPTER XXXVII

President Taft's Speech of Acceptance

SENATOR ROOT'S ADDRESS OF NOTIFICATION—PRESIDENT TAFT'S REPLY—
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION—THE TARIFF—THE COST OF
LIVING—HOSTILITY TO THE COURTS.

William H. Taft was formally notified of his renomination for the presidency on Thursday, August 1, 1912, by a committee of which Senator Elihu Root of New York, chairman of the Republican National Convention, was the head. The ceremony was held in the East Room of the White House in the presence of five hundred prominent Republicans.

Senator Root's Address of Notification

In notifying President Taft of his renomination Senator Root reviewed the contests before the National Committee and the Credentials Committee and said:

"Neither in the facts and arguments produced before the National Committee, the Committee on Credentials and the convention itself, nor otherwise, does there appear just ground for impeaching the honesty and good faith of the committee's decisions. Both the making up of the temporary roll and the rights accorded to the persons upon that roll, whose seats were contested, were in accordance with the long-established and unquestioned rules of law governing the party and founded upon justice and common sense. Your title to the nomination is as clear and unimpeachable as the title of any candidate of any party since political conventions began."

President Taft's Reply

In accepting the nomination President Taft spoke as follows:

"Mr. Root and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

"I accept the nomination which you tender. I do so with profound gratitude to the Republican party, which has thus honored me twice. I accept it as an approval of what I have done under its mandate, and as an expression of confidence that in a second administration I will serve the public well. The issue presented to the convention, over which your chairman presided with such a just and even hand, made a crisis in the party's life.

"A faction sought to force the party to violate a valuable and time-honored national tradition by intrusting the power of the presidency for more than two terms to one man, and that man one whose recently avowed

political views would have committed the party to radical proposals involving dangerous changes in our present constitutional form of representative government and our independent judiciary."

President Taft then rehearsed the achievements of the Republican party in the last fifty years. He spoke of its services to the country in the Civil and Spanish-American wars, and also alluded specifically to problems solved in connection with our island possessions, anti-trust and railway legislation. He mentioned a long list of legislative enactments of the Republican party for the uplifting of those of the people who suffer under social or economic disadvantages; among these were the pure food and meat inspection laws, the law requiring safety appliances and methods on railroads and in mines, legislation governing child labor, the pension laws, the white slave act and the pending railroad employees' insurance act.

Referring to the Commerce Court, he said:

"Orders against railways which under previous acts might be stayed by judicial injunction that involved a delay of two years can now be explained and finally passed on by the Commerce Court in about six months. Patrons of express, telegraph and telephone companies may now secure reasonable rates by complaint to the commission."

Achievements of the Administration

President Taft then referred to the experiments and investigations of the Agricultural Department for the benefit of the farmer, the eight-hour-day law relating to all government work and the reforms adopted for cheapening and expediting litigation in the federal courts. Speaking of the postal savings banks and parcels post, he said:

"We have adopted in this Administration, after very considerable opposition, the postal savings banks, which work directly in the promotion of thrift among the people. By payment of only two per cent interest on deposits they do not compete with the savings banks. But they do attract those who fear banks and are unwilling to trust their funds except to a governmental agency. Experience, however, leads depositors to a knowledge of the importance of interest, and then seeking a higher rate they transfer their accounts to the savings banks. In this way the savings bank deposits, instead of being reduced, are increased, and there is thus available a much larger fund for general investment.

"For some years the Administration has been recommending the parcels post, and now I am glad to say a measure will probably be adopted by Congress authorizing the government to avail itself of the existing machinery of the Post Office Department to carry parcels at a reasonably low rate, so that the communication between the city and the country in ordinary merchandise will be proportionately as cheap and as prompt as the newspaper and letter delivery through the post offices now. This must contribute greatly to a reduction in the cost and comfort of living."

"The dignity and effectiveness of the government of the United States together with its responsibility for the protection of Hawaii, Porto Rico,

Alaska, Panama and the Philippines, as well as for the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, require the maintenance of an army and a navy. We cannot properly reduce either below its present effective size. The plan for the maintenance of the navy in proportion to the growth of other navies of the world calls for the construction of two new battleships each year. The Republican party has felt the responsibility and voted the ships. The Democratic party, in house caucus, repudiates any obligation to meet this national need."

The Tariff

President Taft alluded at some length to the tariff subject, and warned his hearers against the danger in this respect lying in a Democratic victory, by saying:

"We would not have to wait for actual legislation on this subject; the very prospect of Democratic success when its policy toward our great protected industries became understood would postpone indefinitely the coming of prosperity and tend to give us a recurrence of the hard times that we had in the decade between 1890 and 1897. It is true the Democratic platform says that the change to the policy of a revenue tariff is to be made in such a way as not to injure industry. This is utterly impossible when we are on a protective basis, and it is conclusively shown to be so by the necessary effect of bills already introduced and passed by the Democratic house for the purpose of making strides toward a revenue tariff."

Against the charge that the protective tariff is responsible for the high cost of living, President Taft spoke emphatically, saying:

The Cost of Living

"This is not true. A careful investigation will show that the phenomenon of increased prices and cost of living is world-wide in its extent, and quite as much in evidence in other countries of advanced civilization and progressive tendencies as in our own. Bitter complaints of the burden of prices and cost of living have been made, not only in this country, but even in countries of Asia and Africa. Disorder and even riots have occurred in several European cities because of the unprecedented cost of food products. In our own country, changes have been manifested without regard to lower or higher duties in the tariff act of 1909. Indeed, the most notable increase in prices has been in the case of products where no duties are imposed, and in some instances in which they were diminished or removed by the recent tariff act.

"It is difficult to understand how any legislation or promise in a political platform can remedy this universal condition. I have recommended the creation of a commission to study this subject and to report upon all possible methods for alleviating the hardship of which the people complain, but great economic tendencies, notable among which are the practically universal movement from the country to the city and the increased supply of gold have been the most potent factors in causing high prices. These facts every careful student of the situation must admit."

President Taft then spoke at some length on the necessity for strengthening the Anti-trust law and discussed the prosecutions that have been brought under this law during his administration.

President Taft outlined the proposed legislation to facilitate the perfection of homestead title to agricultural lands, and to further protect the public interest in mineral and forest lands and water-power sites owned by the government. He also reviewed the legislation for curbing ill-gotten wealth, and spoke of the evils of socialism. In this connection, referring to the Democratic and Progressive candidates, he said:

"They are going in a direction they do not definitely know, toward an end they cannot definitely describe, with but one chief and clear object, and that is of acquiring power for their party by popular support through the promise of a change for the better. What they clamor for is a change. These gentlemen propose to reform the government, whose present defects, if any, are due to the failure of the people to devote as much time as is necessary to their political duties by requiring a political activity by the people three times that which thus far the people have been willing to assume; and thus they propose remedies which, instead of exciting the people to further interest and activity in the government, will tire them into such an indifference as still further to remand control of public affairs to a minority."

Hostility to the Courts

President Taft proceeded to show the fallacy of popular nostrums offered to cure public evils, and the danger in the hostility to the courts shown by proposed radical reforms, which he characterized as follows:

"The hostility to the judiciary and the measures to take away its power and its independence constitute the chief definite policy that can be fairly attributed to that class of statesmen and reformers whose absorption and control the Republican party escaped at Chicago and the Democratic party yielded to at Baltimore."

He declared that the Republican party stood for none of these innovations, but instead "believes in progress along the same lines upon which we have attained progress already."

He then discussed some of the accomplishments of his administration in home and foreign affairs, and dwelt on the progress made in the construction of the Panama Canal. With reference to the development of the navy and the attitude of the Democrats he said:

"I know that in this wide country there are many who call themselves Democrats, who view, with the same aversion that we Republicans do, the radical propositions of change in our form of government that are recklessly advanced to satisfy what is supposed to be popular clamor. They are men who revere the Constitution and the institutions of their government with all the love and respect that we could possibly have; men who deprecate disturbance in business conditions, and are yearning for that quiet from demagogic agitation which is essential to the enjoyment by the people of the great prosperity which the good crops and the present conditions ought to bring us. To them I appeal, as to all Repub-



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Albert B. Cummins

Senator from Iowa and Candidate for the Nomination

A PROMINENT CANDIDATE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION AND HIS MANAGER



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William S. Kenyon

Senator from Iowa and Manager of Senator Cummins' Campaign



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Francis C. McGovern
Governor of Wisconsin and defeated Candidate for temporary chairman
of the Republican National Convention



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Robert M. La Follette
Senator from Wisconsin and Candidate for the Republican
Presidential Nomination

WELL-KNOWN PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICANS

licans, to join us in an earnest effort to avert the political and economic revolution and business paralysis which Republican defeat will bring about. Such misfortune will fall most heavily on the wage earner. May we not hope that he will see what his real interest is, will understand the shallowness of attacks upon existing institutions and deceitful promises of undefined benefit by undefined changes?

"May we not hope that the great majority of voters will be able to distinguish between the substance of performance and the fustian of promise; that they may be able to see that those who would deliberately stir up discontent and create hostility toward those who are conducting legitimate business enterprises, and who represent the business progress of the country, are sowing dragons' teeth? Who are the people? They are not alone the unfortunate and the weak; they are the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich, and the many who are neither, the wage earner and the capitalist, the farmer and the professional man, the merchant and the manufacturer, the storekeeper and the clerk, the railroad magnate and the employee—they all make up the people and they all contribute to the running of the government, and they have not any of them given into the hands of any one the mandate to speak for them as peculiarly the people's representative. Especially does not he represent them who, assuming that the people are the unfortunate and discontented, would stir them up against the remainder of those whose government alike this is. In other campaigns before this, the American people have been confused and misled and diverted from the truth and from a clear perception of their welfare by specious appeals to their prejudices and their misunderstanding, but the clarifying effect of a campaign of education, the pricking of the bubbles of demagogic promise which the discussions of a campaign made possible have brought the people to a clear perception of their own interests and to a rejection of the injurious nostrums that in the beginning of the campaign, it was then feared, they might embrace and adopt. So may we not expect in the issues which are now before us that the ballots cast in November shall show a prevailing majority in favor of sound progress, great prosperity upon a protective basis, and under true constitutional and representative rule by the people?"

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Platform of the Republican Party

DECLARES FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS—RECALL OF JUDGES UNNECESSARY AND UNWISE—SPECIAL PRIVILEGE AND MONOPOLY OPPOSED—PROTECTIVE TARIFF REAFFIRMED—INQUIRY INTO COST OF LIVING—REVISION OF BANKING LAWS—CORPORATION AID TO CAMPAIGNS CONDEMNED—CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES—MISSISSIPPI FLOOD PREVENTION—RELIEF IN IMMIGRATION EVIL PROMISED—ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PARTY.

The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention is as follows:

The Republican party, assembled by its representatives in national convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party, and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln. In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

Declares for Constitutional Government

The Republican party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction, and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendancy in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfilment of one great pledge to the fulfilment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which is a government of law, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection

of civil liberty and the rights of men, and for the interpretation of the law by an untrammeled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support, and managed by the people themselves, the government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

Social and Economic Problems

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions, which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation, but in the several states, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children; to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workman's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability; and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and state constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the function of independent courts of justice.

The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both state and federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so

altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

That the courts, both federal and state, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

Recall of Judges Unnecessary and Unwise

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all justiciable controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

Special Privilege and Monopoly Opposed

The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute book the interstate commerce act of 1887, and the important amendments thereto, and the anti-trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the re-establishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear or without disturbance, and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law; in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessities of life, in an open market uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination may be preserved.

In the enforcement and administration of federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a federal trade commission,

thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

Protective Tariff Reaffirmed

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions, and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this, correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown by its creation of a tariff board, its recognition of this situation, and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic party for its failure, either to provide funds for the continuance of this board, or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on this vitally important subject without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit and as destructive of business enterprise.

Inquiry Into Cost of Living

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national, but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into

the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist, in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments, and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency system.

Revision of Banking Laws

Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends, the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or state charters, must be carefully protected, and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial or political interests.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business.

Therefore, we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries, and the passage of state and federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension and enforcement of the civil service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the president to extend the competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service, in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We favor the amendment of the federal employees' liability law so as to extend its provision to all government employees, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

Corporation Aid to Campaigns Condemned

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or

indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the president, the vice-president, senators and representatives in Congress.

We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions or elections.

Conservation of Natural Resources

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our natural resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide homeseekers, prospectors and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcels post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone similar in proportion to the length of carriage.

We approve the action taken by the president and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defense, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, and plenty of them, to make use of the great American inter-oceanic canal now nearing completion.

Mississippi Flood Prevention

The Mississippi River is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from the 31 states, and in the Dominion of Canada, constitute an over-powering force which breaks levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The states, unaided, cannot cope with this giant problem; hence, we believe the federal government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

We have the continuance of the policy of the government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands: and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands; we favor an amendment to

the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the land owners under it.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that district with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

Relief in Immigration Evil Promised

We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States. We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure servitude, and life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a bureau of mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the republic, and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs—all mark the successful progress of Republican administration, and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economies and increased efficiency in the conduct of government business; extravagant appropriations, and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings, and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those states, thus merging in the union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

Accomplishments of the Party

We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platforms

of 1900 and of 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

We invite intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican party, and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be named our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people, and that glory will be added to the great republic.

CHAPTER XXXIX

William Howard Taft

Republican Candidate for President, 1912

HIS ADHERENCE TO JUSTICE—EARLY CAREER—FIRST APPOINTMENT TO THE BENCH—BRILLIANT CAREER AS UNITED STATES JUDGE—THRICE OFFERED SUPREME JUSTICESHIP—MADE GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES—HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES—BECOMES SECRETARY OF WAR AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF CUBA—TOUR AROUND THE WORLD—ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY—RECORD OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

In a careful estimate of William H. Taft, written four years ago, when he was first the candidate of his party for the highest office in the gift of the American people, his temperament was summarized in these words: "Regardless of party, William H. Taft is an American of Americans. Both by native ability and training he is peculiarly enabled to grapple with the problems of American life and American policy. He is Western by birth, but a New Englander by ancestry, and a whole American, without sectionalism, by practice. He is a patriot, rather than a partisan. He is a friend of labor and a friend of capital—opposed to injustice from either side. Those who know him best believe he will stand as a bulwark between labor and capital, administering the laws of the land with favor toward none and with justice toward all."

Those who have stood close to Mr. Taft during the nearly four years that he has occupied the presidency are firm in their convictions that this estimate has proven impersonally just, and that much of the enmity shown toward Mr. Taft is due to his refusal to lean either way from the line of duty to favor a friend at the cost of conscience.

His Adherence to Justice

His friends admire him for his stern adherence to impartial justice. He is not a politician, but is essentially of a judicial mind. Scorning to "trim his sails to catch a passing breeze," he has sought to enforce the laws of his country as he found them, believing that as chief executive it was neither his duty to assume the legislative function of law-making, nor the judicial function of interpreting the statutes.

Mr. Taft has suffered much partisan criticism for the results, unsatisfactory in some quarters, secured in the enforcement of the law; as, for

example, in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases. Usually he has suffered in silence, not because of weakness, but because with firm faith in the ultimate judgment of the people he has believed they would realize that in the execution of the law he had done his duty, and that if the law is insufficient the fault lay with those whose constitutional duty it is to make the laws.

William H. Taft was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 15, 1857. The progressive spirit was born with William H. Taft, and his career has been one of steady and substantial progress and growth. His father, Alphonso Taft, was one of those early pioneers who left New England for the Middle West some seventy years ago and carried into the then wilderness the standards of learning and civilization. The elder Taft was graduated from Yale in 1833, and soon after went to Ohio and settled in Cincinnati. His rise at the bar was rapid. He became one of the recognized leaders of his profession, so that in 1865 he was made a judge of the Superior Court of the State of Ohio. He became secretary of war, under President Grant, in 1875, and the following year he was made attorney-general of the United States. He represented his country at the capital of Austria from 1883 to 1885, when he was appointed Minister to Russia. In these high offices, Alphonso Taft acquitted himself with distinction and proved his usefulness to his country. The son, then, comes by legitimate birthright to his high legal and executive talents.

Early Career

The younger Taft received his preparatory education at the Woodward High School, Cincinnati, from which he graduated in 1874. He entered Yale College, and was graduated in 1878, standing second in a class of 121. He was salutatorian and class orator. Entering the Cincinnati Law School, he finished his law course in 1880, dividing first prize, and was admitted to the bar of the Superior Court of Ohio.

His intellect, his vigor and his keenness brought him to the front with great rapidity. Only a year after his admission he was appointed assistant prosecuting attorney for the County of Hamilton. He was made collector of internal revenue for the first district of Ohio by President Arthur, but not even political preferment could swerve him from his chosen profession of law, and within the next half decade he had become one of the leading attorneys of his state and district.

First Appointment to the Bench

Then came the appointment as judge of the Superior Court of Ohio to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Judson Harmon, and, although Mr. Taft made financial sacrifices in so doing, he accepted the position. It has always been his attitude that public service and the honor that attaches thereto should be more to an American citizen than a mere question of gain. He did not finish this term, however, for President Harrison appointed him solicitor-general of the United States in 1890.

William H. Taft's career in this position of extending influence was remarkably brilliant. As a special pleader for "Uncle Sam" he won triumphs in different cases and against odds such as raised him to fame within a brief period. There was the Behring Sea fisheries case, for instance. Although the vast majority of our people may have forgotten the principles involved therein, it is sufficient to say that the battle won by William H. Taft, against lawyers of great eminence both of this country and England, stands to-day as one of the notable achievements of American jurisprudence. And Mr. Taft had many other successes, that brought out the mettle of the man and showed the high order of legal mind he possessed. After two years in this position Mr. Taft was appointed by President Harrison as judge of the United States Circuit Court in the sixth judicial district. Here, as in other positions, he acquitted himself with great credit and won the confidence and respect of the bar. Many of his opinions stand to-day as models of lucidity, research, learning and a keen sense of justice.

Brilliant Career as United States Judge

In considering Mr. Taft's admirable qualifications it is interesting to know that as judge of the sixth judicial district he made one of the earliest and most effective decisions given by an American judge against a trust. This was against the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company, et al. Six corporations with plants for manufacturing cast-iron pipes in four states in the South and Middle West, had entered into a conspiracy in restraint of trade contrary to the Act of Congress of 1890, "protecting trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopolies." Judge Taft's careful and exhaustive decision reviewed the antecedent case, explained the Act of 1890 in so far as it applied to the case at bar, which he brought strongly under the status, and destroyed the combination while enjoining the parties from carrying out their illegal contracts.

That was but one of the several highly important cases decided by Judge Taft bearing upon the great question of restraint of monopolies, which now seemed to be and is one of the fundamental issues of the day.

Mr. Taft's alma mater, recognizing the distinguished services and conspicuous ability as a lawyer and judge, of one of her sons, conferred upon him in 1893 the degree of doctor of laws. In 1896 he was made professor and dean of the Department of Law in the University of Cincinnati.

Thrice Offered Supreme Justiceship

It is a notable fact that since 1900, Mr. Taft has three times been offered a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, the highest judicial honor in the nation; but, because of public duties, that he had then undertaken and could not conscientiously dismiss at the time, he felt it his duty to decline.

There is no more natural step in public life than that which is taken by the lawyer when he turns to statesmanship. The very nature of his calling fits him for it; and those who love their profession above all else,

and would, from choice, adhere to it, are often induced by their countrymen or high officials to surrender a lucrative practice to take upon themselves some political duty in answer to what is urged as their country's service. Such was the case with Mr. Taft.

Made Governor of the Philippines

In 1900, President McKinley, who well knew Mr. Taft's qualities of mind and heart, asked him to leave his judgeship and deanship to become president of the United States Philippine Commission. It was the demanding of a great sacrifice. A pleasant and profitable life in his native land must be abandoned and a career of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy must be taken up. There were the hard problems of organizing a civil government and developing civilization among the Filipinos, with their multitudinous tribes and dialects, their eighty per cent illiteracy and their undemocratic habits born of many years subjection under a despotic government. With his sense of duty he accepted the task. For a year he studied exhaustively every detail of the gigantic burden allotted him, planned the work of organizing and civilizing the people, with consummate tact and far-sighted statesmanship, and the following year was made the first civil governor of the islands. He succeeded in establishing a civilization and a government that outclassed the work of any one governmental administrator ever sent from Europe into the Far East. Here were seen for the first time his unsurpassed powers as a wise administrator, a constructive statesman, and a diplomat of the highest order.

His Administration in the Philippines

Under him were established a central government, forty provincial governments, 623 municipal governments, a complete judicial system, an efficient civil service, new educational facilities that to-day care for over half a million scholars with over five thousand Filipino teachers and less than one thousand American teachers, an independent and stable monetary system, additional banks, a constabulary of seven thousand men, well organized, adapted and competent, an enlarged postal and telegraph service, new and better roads, a revenue-producing forestry service, a mining bureau, and an agricultural bureau that is fast developing these resources of the islands; a weather bureau service, and in short every factor of government activity that makes for the advancement of a people in civilization. Tariff laws and customs were instituted, a census was taken, foreign commerce was increased over one hundred and fifty per cent during the first five years of American occupation, harbor improvements started on an extensive scale, sanitation of the centers of population was vigorously enhanced and the general health improved.

Governor Taft returned to the United States in 1901, at the request of the secretary of war, and for six weeks gave his testimony as to the conditions then existing in the islands, before the Senate Committee on the Philippines and the House Committee on Insular Affairs. In the spring following, by request of the president and secretary of war, he sailed for

Rome to confer with Pope Leo XIII concerning the agricultural lands of religious orders in the Philippines. Out of that conference came the settlement of what at one time threatened to be a most difficult and perplexing question. The friars' lands were purchased and devoted to industrial uses. Some four hundred and ten thousand acres of agricultural lands were transferred to the Philippine Government. The church and the friars were satisfied, the people of the Philippines were pleased, a complex problem had been solved, a delicate situation had been removed, and an American statesman had done a great service and won a diplomatic triumph.

Becomes Secretary of War and Provincial Governor of Cuba

He returned to the Philippines in 1902 and resumed the duties of his office as governor. The following year President Roosevelt appointed him secretary of war, and he entered on his work as a member of the cabinet in February 1904. In the fall he visited Panama to confer with the Panama authorities upon questions arising with reference to the government of the Canal Zone, and two years later, under the direction of the president, he visited Cuba for the purpose of arranging peace, and acted for a short period as the provincial governor of that island. The ability to grasp a situation correctly, to see things in their right proportions, to induce men to forget fancied wrongs and to act for the promotion of the common interest, which was so strongly characteristic of Mr. Taft's administration in the Philippines, was again exhibited during his short administration in Cuba, which resulted in peace and prosperity to that new republic.

Besides the peaceful settlement of an incipient revolution in Cuba, the adjustment of relations with the new government of Panama, and the routine of the War Department he was concerned in the improvement of rivers and harbors, the development of Porto Rico, the policy to be pursued in regard to Hawaii and the temporary administration of the State Department. Incidentally he was the real power that smashed one of the most perfect of the corrupt political rings in any city in America.

Tour Around the World

In 1907 he went on a special mission to Japan, China, Russia and the Philippines, and made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with enthusiastic manifestations of admiration and esteem. His second report on the Philippines, published in January, 1908, is a monument of pains-taking and effective investigation, and the facts brought down to date afford a new demonstration of the strength and wisdom of the work he did as commissioner and governor in developing civilization, preparing the people for self-government, training them in the exercise of its rights and duties, and laying the foundations of the new republic of the Pacific, the history of which marks an epoch in the dealings of the stronger nations with the weaker and sets a new and higher standard which, sooner or later, as the sentiments of justice and humanity develop in the world, the Powers will be compelled to follow.

Elected to the Presidency

In 1908 Mr. Taft was the choice of Roosevelt to succeed him in the presidency. By a substantial majority Mr. Taft was given the Republican nomination, and in the same year was elected the chief executive of the United States, receiving 321 electoral votes against 162 for his Democratic opponent, William J. Bryan. He was inducted into office on March 4, 1909, and at once occupied himself with the momentous problems confronting him. To their solution he brought the benefit of his great legal training and experience, and his proven capacity as an executive and administrator. These problems were as varied as they were important, but with the versatility which marked his career in the Philippines, in Cuba and in the War Department, he attacked them one after another.

Record of His Administration

Many accomplishments stand out to mark the administration of President Taft. The Court of Customs Appeals has been established. The maximum and minimum tariff have been adopted, by which the discriminations of other countries against American trade are being stopped. A Tariff Board has been created to provide accurate data as a basis of further tariff revision. Free trade with the Philippines has been inaugurated. A corporation tax has been levied, under which many millions of revenue is brought annually into the treasury. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been strengthened so that railroads cannot minimize or ignore its orders. A Commerce Court has been established which, with its powers now definitely interpreted by the Supreme Court, can give prompt relief to shippers against appeals by railroads, which previously acted to delay remedies ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission. A commission has been appointed to report on the wisdom of regulating the issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railways. A safety appliance law has been enacted, as well as an employers' liability law which has been upheld by the Supreme Court. A comprehensive system of postal savings banks has been put into operation. A workmen's compensation commission and a mining bureau, chiefly to promote the cause of humanity, have been established. The Sherman law has been strictly enforced so that offenders have been curbed as far as the law provides. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been given power to investigate all important railway accidents. The White Mountain Appalachian Forest Reservation and other reserves or forested watersheds have been created and provided for. Publicity has been provided for all political contributions to all national campaign committees in congressional elections. Moreover, notwithstanding these increased activities, such has been the rigid economy enforced that in the first year of President Taft's administration the expenditures in the executive department were cut upwards of fifty million dollars.

This is the record of Mr. Taft's accomplishments during his administration, and the record upon which he appeals to the country in the present campaign.

CHAPTER XL

James Schoolcraft Sherman

Republican Candidate for Vice-President, 1912

RESEMBLANCES TO MR. TAFT—WAS MAYOR OF UTICA AND CONGRESSMAN
—VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

James S. Sherman, the Republican candidate for the vice-presidency, has long and faithfully served the party in New York in various capacities, as well as in the Congress of the nation for more than twenty years. He is a noted lawyer, a politician of shrewdness and a statesman of ability. One of the interesting facts in Mr. Sherman's history is that he was a Democrat until about 1876, when, after going as a delegate from Oneida County to a Democratic state convention, he renounced Democracy and embraced the tenets of Republicanism. All of his brothers are Democrats still, but for more than thirty-five years the vice-presidential nominee has been a staunch Republican and yielded yeoman service continually in the ranks of his party. He was seriously considered for the vice-presidency in 1900 by Mark Hanna and other leaders.

Resemblances to Mr. Taft

Like the head of the ticket, Mr. Sherman is a man of large physical proportions. He is not so tall as Mr. Taft, but his circumference is ample. He gives the impression of weighing perhaps 225 pounds. The running mates are nearly the same age, Mr. Sherman being graduated from Hamilton College, New York, the same year that Mr. Taft was graduated from Yale. Like Mr. Taft, Mr. Sherman has been in politics from his youth. He, too, is a lawyer, but he has never held judicial office. He has, however, been almost continuously an office-holder for twenty-four years, having started as mayor of Utica, N. Y., two years before Mr. Taft was married out at Cincinnati, although Mr. Sherman had then been married three years. Both when in office, and when temporarily out of it, he has been almost constantly mentioned for some other office until the process culminated with the mention of his name for the vice-presidential candidacy in the spring of 1908 and his nomination at the Chicago convention.

Mr. Sherman was born on October 24, 1855, at Utica, where he has lived ever since. His father was Richard U. Sherman. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1878, and two years later was admitted to the bar. In 1881 he married Miss Carrie Babcock, of New York. He has



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Senator from Ohio



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William A. Smith
Senator from Michigan



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Col. Harry S. New
Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements

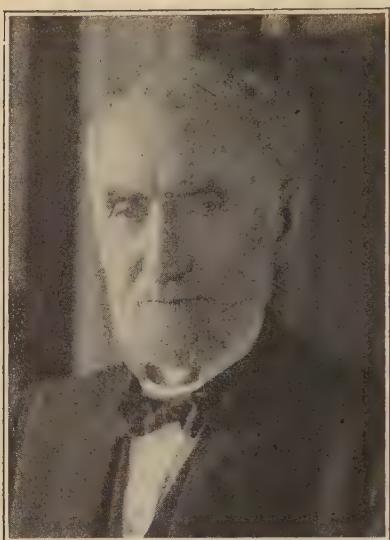


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Ben. W. Hooper
Governor of Tennessee

WELL-KNOWN REPUBLICANS

Senator Burton is one of President Taft's strong adherents. Senator Smith was chairman of the Senate Committee to investigate the Titanic disaster. Col. Harry S. New was chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the Convention. Gov. Hooper is a well-known Southern Republican.



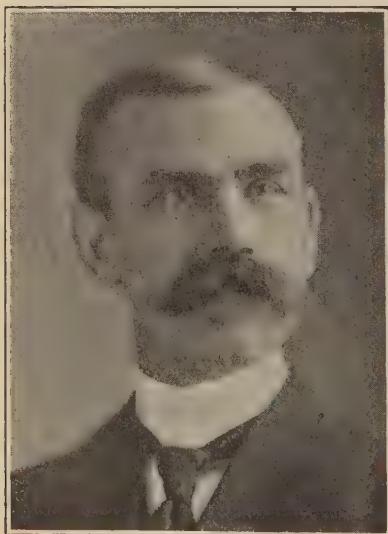
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Representative from Illinois



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Ex-Senator from Rhode Island



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Senator from Utah



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Boies Penrose
Senator from Pennsylvania

WELL-KNOWN CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS
Four of President Taft's strongest adherents and supporters

continued his law practice throughout his political career, and in addition he is now president of the Utica Trust and Deposit Company and of the New Hartford Canning Company.

Was Mayor of Utica and Congressman

He was elected mayor of Utica in 1884, and in 1892 was sent as a delegate to the Republican National Convention. He was chairman of the Republican State Conventions of 1895, 1900 and 1908. Previously, in 1887, he had been elected to the Fiftieth Congress, and he has been since a member of the fifty-first, fifty-third, fifty-fourth, fifty-fifth, fifty-sixth, fifty-seventh, fifty-eighth, fifty-ninth and sixtieth congresses. In 1903 Hamilton College conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws.

While Sherman was chairman of the state convention in 1900 he was for several days a close rival of Theodore Roosevelt for the nomination to the vice-presidency, and Mark Hanna at one time looked favorably upon the suggestion of his name for the nomination.

Mr. Sherman came most widely into national repute when, in 1906, he became chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee in charge of the campaign.

It was in that campaign that he earned the sobriquet "Send Your Dollar Jim," or "Dollar Jim," as the solicitor and recipient of the dollar contributions, which, at President Roosevelt's suggestion, were sought among the people generally at that time, when so much was being said in criticism of great campaign contributions by the big corporations. Sherman succeeded Representative Babcock of Wisconsin in the chairmanship of that committee.

Vice-President of the United States

In 1908 he was elected to the vice-presidency by the same electoral vote which elevated Mr. Taft to the presidency. His duties have been confined to presiding over the deliberations of the Senate. Here his natural abilities and pleasing personality, combined with his broad experience as a parliamentarian in the lower house and his intimate knowledge of congressional procedure, have marked him as one of the most efficient presiding officers the Senate has had in many years.

CHAPTER XLI

The Democratic National Convention of 1912

STIRRING FIGHT OVER CHAIRMANSHIP—CHAIRMAN PARKER'S SPEECH—THE UNIT RULE MODIFIED—MORGAN-RYAN-BELMONT INFLUENCE DENOUNCED—THE NOMINATING SPEECHES—THE PRESIDENTIAL DEADLOCK—BRYAN ATTACKS TAMMANY—BITTER FEELING APPARENT—WILSON FINALLY NOMINATED—PLATFORM ADOPTED—MARSHALL FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The Democratic National Convention which was held in Baltimore, June 25—July 3, 1912, was distinctive in three respects. In the first place, it was the most hopeful Democratic Convention since 1892, when Grover Cleveland was re-nominated as the party standard-bearer. Secondly, it marked the first occasion in the history of the Democratic party when a candidate for the presidential nomination has at some time during the proceedings polled a majority of the delegates' votes without eventually being given the two-thirds vote necessary to nominate a Democratic candidate. Third, so determined was the struggle that forty-six ballots were necessary to secure a nomination, a number that has only been exceeded twice in the history of presidential conventions.

The convention was called to order in the Fifth Regiment Armory at noon on Tuesday, June 25th, by Norman E. Mack, chairman of the national committee. In opposition to Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, the party's presidential candidate in 1904, who was named for the temporary chairmanship by the National Committee, William J. Bryan nominated John W. Kern of Indiana.

Stirring Fight Over Chairmanship

Mr. Bryan made a stirring speech in which he described Judge Parker as the candidate of the reactionary forces and of "predatory wealth," pictured the opportunity for a Democratic victory in November with a pronounced progressive candidate and a progressive platform, and pleaded with the delegates to grasp their opportunity by making no league with the reactionary forces, but by electing an out-and-out progressive as presiding officer.

Senator Kern followed Mr. Bryan. He appealed for harmony. He asked Mr. Parker to join him in withdrawing from the contest for temporary

chairman and in uniting their strength in the election of such a compromise candidate as Senator O'Gorman. He declared the discord would cease if Judge Parker and his associates would agree on such a man as Senator O'Gorman.

If a compromise could not be agreed on, then Senator Kern proposed Bryan as the progressive chairman. In a short speech Bryan accepted the mantle of leadership.

Amid great confusion the debate was closed and the secretary proceeded with the call of the roll. At the conclusion of the vote the result was announced as follows:

	Parker	Bryan	Parker	Bryan
Alabama.....	22½	1½	New York.....	90
Arizona.....	2	4	North Carolina.....	15
Arkansas.....	18	..	North Dakota.....	..
California*.....	18	7	Ohio.....	29
Colorado.....	6	6	Oklahoma.....	..
Connecticut.....	12	2	Oregon.....	1
Delaware.....	..	6	Pennsylvania.....	9
Florida.....	11	1	Rhode Island.....	10
Georgia.....	28	..	South Carolina.....	..
Idaho.....	..	8	South Dakota.....	..
Illinois.....	58	..	Tennessee.....	17
Indiana†.....	21	8	Texas.....	..
Iowa.....	13	13	Utah.....	4
Kansas.....	..	20	Vermont.....	..
Kentucky.....	18½	7½	Virginia.....	14
Louisiana.....	10	10	Washington.....	..
Maine.....	11	1	West Virginia.....	9½
Maryland.....	14½	1½	Wisconsin.....	..
Massachusetts‡.....	15	18	Wyoming.....	..
Michigan.....	21	9	Alaska.....	4
Minnesota.....	..	24	Dist. of Columbia.....	6
Mississippi.....	20	..	Hawaii.....	4
Missouri.....	22	14	Philippines.....	4
Montana.....	1	7	Porto Rico.....	2
Nebraska.....	3	13	Totals.....	579
Nevada.....	..	6	* One voted for Kern.	510
New Hampshire.....	3	5	† One not voting.	
New Jersey.....	4	24	‡ Three votes for O'Gorman.	
New Mexico.....	..	8		

When the evening session was called to order, Mr. Mack introduced Judge Parker, and the temporary chairman delivered his speech.

Chairman Parker's Speech

In opening, Judge Parker commented on the Republican convention at Chicago, where he said the words "liar," "corruptionist," "traitor," "thief" were freely used. "We will have nothing like that in this convention," he said. "We had a little difference here this afternoon, but there was nothing said by any one in that difference that was intended to be severe."

When the convention met at noon on Wednesday the credentials committee was not ready to report, and the delegates listened to two hours

of oratory before adjourning until eight o'clock. The speakers were former Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, Senator Isidor Rayner of Maryland, Congressman Henry D. Clayton of Alabama, Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma and John Temple Graves of New York. All of the speakers united in predicting a Democratic victory in November.

At the evening session a report was presented from the rules committee, by the chairman, Representative Covington of Maryland, recommending that the nominations for president and vice-president be placed on the program of the convention immediately after the report of the committee on credentials and before the adoption of the platform.

The report, much to the surprise of the convention generally, was adopted by a *viva voce* vote, without opposition.

The "Unit Rule" Modified

Mr. Covington then presented the majority supplemental report of the rules committee, making the "unit rule" a rule of the convention. As reported, the rule would make a unit instruction by a state convention binding on a delegation if a majority of the delegation favored any particular candidate. Representative Henry, of Texas, presented a minority report which would except from the operations of this rule such delegations as are elected under state primary rules by congressional districts.

After both reports had been presented, Chairman Covington opened the debate in favor of the majority report and Henry took it up for the minority. The debate was continued by John W. Peck of Ohio and Judge Edward H. Moore of Ohio, for the majority report, and by Mayor Baker of Cleveland and Senator Williams of Mississippi for the minority report. The whole debate had turned upon the situation in Ohio, where nine congressional districts instructed their eighteen delegates for Wilson and four instructed for Harmon. The Democratic State Convention, controlled by the Harmon forces, adopted a resolution binding the state delegation to vote as a unit according to the dictates of the majority of the delegates. This majority was for Harmon.

The majority report from the committee on rules proposed to recognize the right of state conventions so to apply the unit rule. The minority report, urged by the Wilson people, proposed to abrogate the rule.

The motion was on the substitution of the minority or pro-Wilson report for the majority report, and was carried by a vote of $555\frac{1}{2}$ to $495\frac{1}{2}$, thus leaving the 18 Wilson delegates from Ohio free to support him. With this victory for the New Jersey governor the convention adjourned until Thursday.

When the first of Thursday's session began it was generally believed that the crisis was at hand. The convention plunged into the South Dakota contests, Roland S. Morris, of Philadelphia, submitting the minority report favoring the Wilson delegates. After a heated debate the minority report favoring the Wilson delegates was adopted by a vote of $633\frac{1}{2}$ to 437.

None of the other contests before the committee was taken to the floor

of the convention and the report of the credentials committee as to all other cases was accepted. The Harrison-Hearst delegates from Illinois abandoned their fight. Two Clark factions from the District of Columbia were seated with a half vote each.

The report of the committee on permanent organization was then presented. It nominated Ollie James, of Kentucky, as permanent chairman; E. E. Britton, of North Carolina, as secretary, and Urey Woodson as associate secretary. The other offices were filled by the selection of the temporary officers. The report was quickly adopted, and Senator-elect James was escorted to the chair amid tremendous applause.

Mr. James, looming high over the other men on the platform, began his speech. His speech, bristling with severe comments on President Taft, was listened to by Mrs. Taft with close interest and an occasional smile.

Morgan-Ryan-Belmont Influence Denounced

William Jennings Bryan threw down the gauntlet to special privilege as never before in the convention at the Thursday night session. With a resolution declaring that the convention would not nominate any man by votes controlled by Morgan, Ryan or Belmont, and demanding the withdrawal from the convention of delegates connected with those men or the special-privilege interests they control, he forced an immediate crisis in the proceedings and caused the utmost consternation in the Ryan-Belmont forces.

In the speech in which he advocated the adoption of his resolution, he prodded the "beast" of predatory wealth as it had never been prodded, and it roared, not in anger, but in pain and fear. And the convention adopted, by a vote of 889 to 196, the Bryan resolution, shorn, however, of the paragraph requiring the withdrawal of Ryan and Belmont.

The presentation of names of candidates for the nomination for the presidency did not begin until 11 P. M., owing to the length of the fight over the Bryan resolution.

The Nominating Speeches

Arizona yielded to Missouri, and Senator Reed went to the platform to place in nomination Speaker Champ Clark. He said:

"And so I nominate this man, who has fought a thousand battles for Democracy and not one against her; who has never lowered his flag nor asked for quarter; who has never deserted nor taken a furlough; who does not know how to quit a friend or betray a party; whose back the enemy has never seen, but whose breast is covered with the scars of many a hard campaign; who leads to-day and who should continue to lead—the lion of Democracy, Champ Clark, of Missouri."

Former Judge John W. Wescott, of Camden, N. J., made the address placing the name of Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, in nomination for the presidency. In closing his brilliant speech he said:

"If Providence could spare a Washington to lay the foundations of the United States of America; if Providence could spare a Jefferson to make Democracy a living reality; if Providence could spare a Lincoln

to unite the states in impregnable unity and brotherhood, New Jersey appeals to this convention to give the nation Woodrow Wilson, that he may open the gates of opportunity to every man, woman and child under our flag by reforming abuses, and thereby teaching them, in his matchless words, 'to release their energies intelligently, that peace, justice and prosperity may reign.'"

Senator Bankhead of Alabama nominated Representative Underwood, M. A. Dougherty of Ohio nominated Governor Harmon, Senator Shively of Indiana named Governor Marshall, and Dean Rogers of the Yale University Law School nominated Governor Baldwin.

Friday's session lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon until 3.05 Saturday morning, the delegates then being in a grim deadlock after twelve ballots, with the break a long way off.

The Presidential Deadlock

The first ballot gave Clark 440½ votes and Wilson 324 votes, with 726 necessary to a choice. No other candidate had enough votes to make him seem a serious contender. The ballot in detail follows:

STATE.	Clark	Wilson	Harmon	Underwood	STATE.	Clark	Wilson	Harmon	Underwood
Alabama (24).....	..	..	..	24	North Dakota (10).....	10	..	..	..
Arizona (6).....	6	..	..	..	Ohio (48)§.....	1	10	35	..
Arkansas (18).....	18	..	..	..	Oklahoma (20).....	10	10	..	..
California (26).....	26	..	..	..	Oregon (10).....	..	10	..	..
Colorado (12).....	12	..	..	..	Pennsylvania (76).....	71	5	..	..
Connecticut (14)*.....	..	..	..	..	Rhode Island (10).....	10	..	..	..
Delaware (6).....	6	..	..	..	South Carolina (18).....	..	18	..	..
Florida (12).....	..	..	..	12	South Dakota (10).....	..	10	..	..
Georgia (28).....	..	..	..	28	Tennessee (24).....	6	6	6	6
Idaho (8).....	8	..	..	..	Texas (40).....	..	40	..	..
Illinois (58).....	58	..	..	..	Utah (8).....	1½	6	1	..
Indiana (30)†.....	..	..	..	..	Vermont (8)¶.....	..	..	..	..
Iowa (26).....	26	..	..	..	Virginia (24).....	..	9½	..	14½
Kansas (20).....	20	..	..	..	Washington (14).....	14	..	..	..
Kentucky (26).....	26	..	..	..	West Virginia (16).....	16	..	..	..
Louisiana (20).....	11	9	..	..	Wisconsin (26)¶.....	6	19	..	..
Maine (12).....	1	9	..	2	Wyoming (6).....	6	..	..	..
Maryland (16).....	16	..	..	..	Alaska (6).....	4	..	..	..
Massachusetts (36).....	36	..	..	..	Dist. of Colum. (6).....	6	..	..	..
Michigan (30)‡.....	12	10	7	..	Hawaii (6).....	2	3	..	1
Minnesota (24).....	..	24	..	..	Porto Rico (6).....	2	3	..	1
Mississippi (20).....	..	..	..	20	Totals (1088).....	440½	324	148	117½
Missouri (36).....	36	..	..	..	SCATTERING.	..	..	..	..
Montana (8).....	8	..	..	..	* Baldwin, 14.	..	..	..	..
Nebraska (16).....	12	..	4	..	† Marshall, 30.	..	..	..	..
Nevada (6).....	6	..	..	..	‡ Marshall, 1.	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire (8).....	8	..	..	..	§ Bryan, 1; absent, 1.	..	..	..	..
New Jersey (28).....	2	24	..	2	¶ Baldwin, 8.	..	..	..	..
New Mexico (8).....	8	..	..	..	|| Sulzer, 2.	..	..	..	..
New York (90).....	..	..	90	..	° One absent.	..	..	..	..
North Carolina (24).....	..	16½	1	7					

The result of the second to the twelfth ballots, inclusive was:

Ballot	Clark	Wilson	Harmon	Underwood	Baldwin	Marshall	Bryan	Sulzer	Kern	Gaynor	James	Absent or Not Voting
2d.	446 $\frac{1}{2}$	339 $\frac{1}{2}$	141	111 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	31	1	2	0	0	0	1
3d.	441	345	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	114 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	31	1	0	1	0	0	0
4th.	443	349 $\frac{1}{2}$	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	112	14	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
5th.	443	351	141 $\frac{1}{2}$	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	31	1	0	0	0	0	0
6th.	445	354	135	121	0	31	1	0	0	0	0	0
7th.	449 $\frac{1}{2}$	352 $\frac{1}{2}$	129 $\frac{1}{2}$	123 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	31	1	0	0	0	0	0
8th.	448 $\frac{1}{2}$	351 $\frac{1}{2}$	130	123	0	31	1	0	0	1	1	0
9th.	452	352 $\frac{1}{2}$	127	122 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	31	1	0	0	1	0	0
10th.	556	350 $\frac{1}{2}$	31	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	31	1	0	0	0	0	0
11th.	554	354 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	30	1	0	0	0	0	0
12th.	547	354	29	123	0	30	1	0	1	0	0	1

After the fifth ballot, at 7.18 p. m., the convention took a recess until 9.30, no great changes having occurred in the voting, although Wilson had made small but steady gains.

At the night session the scenes of the afternoon were repeated until the tenth ballot, when New York's 90 votes were switched from Harmon to Clark. The announcement was greeted with an uproar that swept the hall. The Clark people with a yell leaped to their chairs and a demonstration was under way which lasted for twenty-one minutes. At the end of the tenth ballot Chairman James announced that Clark had received "more than a majority." This brought a storm of protest from the Wilson men.

After the eleventh and twelfth ballots, which were as ineffectual as the preceding ten, the convention adjourned until 1.00 p. m. Saturday.

Immediately after the Saturday session was opened, the convention plunged again into the balloting.

Bryan Attacks Tammany

When William J. Bryan was called on the fourteenth ballot, he explained his break from Speaker Clark by declaring he would not vote for a candidate favored by Tammany Hall. Pandemonium followed his first effort to explain and it was with difficulty that he made known for whom his vote was cast—for Woodrow Wilson. Meanwhile, he had denied that his opposition to Clark meant that he would bolt the nominee, if named over his objection.

The balloting then proceeded until the conclusion of the twenty-first roll-call, the net result being since the twelfth ballot a loss to Clark of 39 and a gain for Wilson of 41 $\frac{1}{2}$.

At this juncture a motion to take a recess until 9.30 p. m. was defeated and the balloting continued.

Four more ballots were then taken, Wilson gaining and Clark losing a few on each.

Then the twenty-sixth roll-call was ordered. Maryland desired to be polled, indicating a break from Clark, and a Wilson demonstration countered by a jubilation for Clark immediately began and continued for twenty-five minutes. The poll of Maryland gave Wilson $2\frac{1}{2}$; Clark 12; one and one-half being absent. The total vote for the leaders was: Clark $467\frac{1}{2}$, Wilson $407\frac{1}{2}$.

The convention then adjourned until 11 A. M. Monday.

The result of the day's balloting was as follows:

Ballots	Clark	Wilson	Harrison	Underwood	Marshall	Bryan	Kern	Gaynor	James	Foss	Absent or Not Voting
13th.....	554	$356\frac{1}{2}$	28	$115\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	0	0	0	2	0
14th.....	550	362	29	113	30	2	2	0	0	0	0
15th.....	552	$362\frac{1}{2}$	29	$110\frac{1}{2}$	30	2	2	0	0	0	0
16th.....	551	$362\frac{1}{2}$	25	$112\frac{1}{2}$	30	5	2	0	0	0	0
17th.....	545	$362\frac{1}{2}$	29	$112\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0
18th.....	535	361	29	125	30	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
19th.....	532	358	29	130	30	7	1	0	0	1	0
20th.....	512	$388\frac{1}{2}$	29	$121\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	1	0	3	2	0
21st.....	508	$395\frac{1}{2}$	29	$118\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	0	0	1	5	0
22d.....	$500\frac{1}{2}$	$396\frac{1}{2}$	0	115	30	1	1	1	0	43	0
23d.....	$497\frac{1}{2}$	399	0	$114\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	0	1	0	45	0
24th.....	496	$402\frac{1}{2}$	0	$115\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	0	0	0	43	0
25th.....	469	405	29	108	30	1	0	0	3	43	0
26th.....	467	405	29	$112\frac{1}{2}$	30	1	0	0	0	43	0

After a busy Sunday of conferences and campaigning, the convention met again Monday afternoon and proceeded somewhat monotonously with the balloting for a presidential choice until the thirty-fourth ballot was cast.

The voting was interspersed with some lively incidents, however. At the outset John B. Stanchfield, when a poll was demanded of the New York delegation, during the twenty-seventh ballot, arose and made a vicious attack on William J. Bryan for casting aspersions on the delegates from the Empire State.

Bitter Feeling Apparent

The assault upon Bryan served to intensify the bitterness between the Clark and Wilson followers, which smoldered until the thirty-third ballot was under way. Then the storm broke. Missouri delegates rushed that state's standard to the Nebraska delegation and set it down in front of Bryan. The Nebraskan considered that an insult and started toward the platform to demand an explanation. He at once found himself in the center of half a score of fist fights, but was extricated by policemen and escorted to the platform. There he stood for several minutes awaiting recognition by the chairman, who vainly was trying to restore order. The convention refused to hear Bryan and he made his way back to his delegation, still standing when the thirty-fourth roll-call was ordered. By this time he was recognized by James, and policemen again escorted the

Nebraskan to the platform, literally having to force a way through the disorderly delegates. Bryan again was howled down and he virtually was ruled out of order by James.

The night session was chiefly notable for the Wilson vote topping the 500 mark. This occurred on the thirty-ninth ballot, the vote being: Wilson, 501½; Clark, 422. The next ballot showed no change in Wilson's total, but Clark added one.

A motion made to adjourn was withdrawn after fifteen states had voted and the balloting proceeded.

On the forty-first, Wilson dropped to 499½ and Clark went to 424, a gain of one.

Another attempt was made to adjourn after the forty-first ballot and again it failed, and another roll-call was ordered. This showed a slight loss for Wilson and a slight gain for Clark.

Then motion to adjourn until Tuesday noon prevailed.

The result of the day's balloting was as follows:

Ballots	Clark	Wilson	Harmon	Underwood	Marshall	Bryan	Kern	Gaynor	Lewis	Foss	Absent or Not Voting
27th.....	469	406	29	112	30	1	0	0	0	38	1½
28th.....	468	437	29	112	0	1	1	0	0	38	0
29th.....	468	436	29	112	0	0	4	0	0	38	0
30th.....	455	460	19	112	0	0	2	0	0	30	0
31st.....	446	475	17	116	0	0	2	0	0	30	0
32d.....	446	477	14	119	0	0	2	0	0	28	0
33d.....	447	477	29	103	0	0	2	0	0	28	0
34th.....	447	479	29	101	0	0	2	0	0	28	0
35th.....	433	494	29	101	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
36th.....	434	496	29	98	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
37th.....	432	496	29	106	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
38th.....	425	498	29	106	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
39th.....	422	501	29	106	0	0	0	0	0	28	0
40th.....	423	501	28	106	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
41st.....	424	499	27	106	0	0	1	0	0	28	0
42d.....	430	494	27	104	0	0	1	0	0	28	0

Wilson Finally Nominated

It was at the Tuesday session of the convention—after a week of hard work—that the break came in the notable deadlock, and only four ballots were required on that day to accomplish the happy result. The first three ballots resulted as follows:

Ballot	Clark	Wilson	Harmon	Underwood	Bryan	Kern	Foss
43d.....	329	602	28	98½	1	1	27
44th.....	306	629	27	99	0	0	27
45th.....	306	633	25	97	0	0	27

Then the forty-sixth ballot began. As state after state, that had voted solidly or in part for other candidates, changed over to Wilson, the excitement and outbursts of applause grew more and more intense.

Before the result of the forty-sixth ballot was announced Senator Stone, of Missouri, moved to make the nomination of Woodrow Wilson unanimous. As Chairman James put the motion a chorus of "ayes" broke all over the hall.

"The ayes have it," said Mr. James, "and I declare Woodrow Wilson the nominee of this convention."

The demonstration began at once. Soon the aisles were choked with a struggling mass of delegates, shaking hands and greeting friends and enemies with the slogan:

"We'll win with Wilson."

For ten minutes James labored to restore order.

When order was restored the convention took a recess until 9.00 p. m. Following is the forty-sixth ballot in detail:

	Clark	Wilson	Harmon		Clark	Wilson	Harmon
Alabama (24).....	..	24	..	New York (90).....	..	90	..
Arizona (6).....	..	6	..	North Carolina (24).....	..	24	..
Arkansas (18).....	..	18	..	North Dakota (10).....	..	10	..
California (26).....	24	2	..	*Ohio (48).....	1	33	12
Colorado (12).....	..	12	..	Oklahoma (20).....	..	20	..
Connecticut (14).....	..	14	..	Oregon (10).....	..	10	..
Delaware (6).....	..	6	..	Pennsylvania (76).....	..	76	..
Florida (12).....	5	7	..	Rhode Island (10).....	..	10	..
Georgia (28).....	..	28	..	South Carolina (18).....	..	18	..
Idaho (8).....	..	8	..	South Dakota (10).....	..	10	..
Illinois (58).....	..	58	..	Tennessee (24).....	..	24	..
Indiana (30).....	..	30	..	Texas (40).....	..	40	..
Iowa (26).....	..	26	..	Utah (8).....	..	8	..
Kansas (20).....	..	20	..	Vermont (8).....	..	8	..
Kentucky (26).....	..	26	..	Virginia (24).....	..	24	..
Louisiana (20).....	2	18	..	Washington (14).....	..	14	..
Maine (12).....	..	12	..	West Virginia (16).....	..	16	..
Maryland (16).....	..	16	..	Wisconsin (26).....	..	26	..
Massachusetts (36).....	..	36	..	Wyoming (6).....	..	6	..
Michigan (30).....	..	30	..	Alaska (6).....	..	6	..
Minnesota (24).....	..	24	..	Dist. of Columbia (6).....	6	..	..
Mississippi (20).....	..	20	..	Hawaii (6).....	..	6	..
Missouri (36).....	36	..	..	Porto Rico (6).....	..	6	..
Montana (8).....	..	8	..	Totals (1088).....	84	990	12
Nebraska (16).....	..	16	..				
Nevada (6).....	6	..	..		
New Hampshire (8).....	..	8	..				
New Jersey (28).....	4	24	..				
New Mexico (8).....	..	8	..				

SCATTERING.

* Absent, 2.

Platform Adopted

When the night session convened, with the presidential nomination out of the way, the delegates were in a mood to expedite the rest of the

convention's business. Nominations for vice-president were quickly called for, and the names of Champ Clark, Governor Burke, Elmore W. Hurst of Illinois, Governor Marshall, Martin I. Wade of Iowa and Mayor James Preston of Baltimore were presented. Clark's name was withdrawn by his lieutenants, who declared that he would not accept the office, but it was again presented, and, pending efforts to persuade him to accept, the platform was read and adopted. Then Bryan made what he called his "Valedictory," turning the party reins over to Governor Wilson.

Clark remained firm in his refusal to accept the nomination for vice-president, and the first ballot was ordered, resulting as follows: Marshall, 389; Burke, $305\frac{2}{3}$; Chamberlain, 157. The rest of the votes were scattered among favorite sons.

As the second ballot progressed Marshall gained steadily. Many of the so-called Wilson states shifted to support him. At the end of this roll-call the leaders stood: Marshall, $645\frac{1}{2}$; Burke, $387\frac{1}{3}$; Chamberlain, $12\frac{1}{2}$.

Marshall for Vice-President

Representative Hughes, of New Jersey, moved that Marshall be nominated by acclamation, but a chorus of dissent followed.

Chairman James ordered the roll called. Before the roll-call could be begun the North Dakota delegation withdrew the name of Governor Burke and moved that the nomination of Marshall be made unanimous.

Before the motion could be put there was a chorus of "ayes" and the delegates began to crowd out of the hall.

No one heard the motion to adjourn or James' announcement that the convention was adjourned sine die.

The motion was declared carried at 1.56 and the Democratic convention was over.

CHAPTER XLII

Governor Wilson's Speech of Acceptance

GOVERNOR WILSON'S PROGRAM—A NEW POINT OF VIEW—TARIFF REVISION—REGULATION OF BUSINESS—LABOR AND CAPITAL—OTHER PROBLEMS BEFORE US.

At Sea Girt, on August 7, 1912, Governor Wilson was formally notified of his nomination as the Democratic presidential candidate. He was standing in a group of nine Democratic governors and was loudly cheered by the assembled crowd.

Ollie James made the people roar with laughter by the thundering periods in which he told Governor Wilson what the Democrats expected of him; but in all that Governor Wilson had to say there was a note of solemnity that sobered and almost silenced the crowd. In accepting the nomination he spoke as follows:

“Mr. James and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

“Speaking for the National Democratic Convention, recently assembled at Baltimore, you have notified me of my nomination by the Democratic party for the high office of President of the United States. Allow me to thank you very warmly for the generous terms in which you have, through your distinguished chairman, conveyed the notification, and for the thoughtful personal courtesy with which you have performed your interesting and important errand.

“I accept the nomination with a deep sense of its unusual significance and of the great honor done me, and also with a very profound sense of my responsibility to the party and to the nation. You will expect me in accepting the honor to speak very plainly the faith that is in me. You will expect me, in brief, to talk politics and open the campaign in words whose meaning no one need doubt. You will expect me to speak to the country as well as to yourselves.”

The present circumstances, Governor Wilson maintained, were unusual; no previous political campaign had disclosed anything like them, and he stood in the presence of an awakened nation “impatient of make-believe.” It was, he said, not with question of party, not with a contest for office, not with a petty struggle for advantage, but with great questions of right and of justice that the people were concerned—questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action no less than of better business and fiscal systems. Taxes, he said, should not come out of the pockets of the many to go into the pockets of the few.

Governor Wilson's Program

Then he outlined his program, insisting that a program was a very different thing from a platform. He said in part:

"What is there to do? It is hard to sum the great task up, but apparently this is the sum of the matter: There are two great things to do.

"One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service is not our own. The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole world the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace and in contentment."

In speaking further of the second duty Governor Wilson said that in the past the questions of conservation and development had been too often handled in private conference, when really they were great matters upon which everybody should be heard.

A New Point of View

"Our task now is to effect a great readjustment and get the forces of the whole people once more into play. We need no revolution; we need no excited change; we need only a new point of view and a new method and spirit of counsel."

It was his business, he maintained, as servant of the people to endeavor to make the government truly representative. He illustrated his point by reference to the tariff question, which he said had been politics in the past and not business. He said in part:

"Tariff schedules have been made up for the purpose of keeping as large a number as possible of the rich and influential manufacturers of the country in a good humor with the Republican party, which desired their constant financial support. The tariff has become a system of favors, which the phraseology of the schedule was often deliberately contrived to conceal. It becomes a matter of business, of legitimate business, only when the partnership and understanding it represents is between the leaders of Congress and the whole people of the United States, instead of between the leaders of Congress and small groups of manufacturers demanding special recognition and consideration. That is why the general idea of representative government becomes a necessary part of the tariff question.

"Who, when you come down to the hard facts of the matter, have been represented in recent years when our tariff schedules were being discussed and determined, not on the floor of Congress, for that is not where they have been determined, but in the committee rooms and conferences?

That is the heart of the whole affair. Will you, can you, bring the whole people into the partnership or not? No one is discontented with representative government; it falls under question only when it ceases to be representative. It is at bottom a question of good faith and morals.

Tariff Revision

Tariff duties, he continued, had been not an equitable system of protection but a method of fostering special privilege. Caution in revising the schedules, he insisted, was necessary, since the business of a large country like the United States is necessarily sensitive to changes in legislation of this kind. There should, however, he said, be immediate revision downward, beginning with the schedules which had been most obviously used to kill competition and raise prices in the United States arbitrarily.

"When we shall have done that," he said, "we shall be partners with all the business men of the country, and a day of freer, more stable prosperity shall have dawned.

"There has been no more demoralizing influence in our politics in our time than the influence of tariff legislation, the influence of the idea that the government was the grand dispenser of favors, the maker and unmaker of fortunes, and of opportunities such as certain men have sought in order to control the movement of trade and industry throughout the continent. It has made the government a prize to be captured and parties the means of effecting the capture. It has made the business men of one of the most virile and enterprising nations in the world timid, fretful, full of alarms; has robbed them of self-confidence and manly force, until they have cried out that they could do nothing without the assistance of the government at Washington. It has made them feel that their lives depended upon the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate (in these later years particularly the Finance Committee of the Senate)."

We are beginning to perceive, he said, some of the results of this system, beginning to see how it leads to the prosperity of the few and to the ever-increasing cost of living.

Regulation of Business

Governor Wilson then proceeded to outline his position with regard to the trusts. He pointed out that the present conditions were only another chapter in the history of the "governing classes" and that the next chapter would set us free again. Big business, he said, was not dangerous because it was big, but because its bigness was an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy.

"While competition cannot be created by statutory enactment, it can in large measure be revived by changing the laws and forbidding the practices that killed it, and by enacting laws that will give it heart and occasion again. We can arrest and prevent monopoly. It has assumed new shapes and adopted new processes in our time, but these are now being disclosed and can be dealt with."

The present anti-trust law, Governor Wilson said, was inadequate, and it would be necessary to supplement this with others, both civil and criminal, designed to meet the problem not only of the trusts and combinations, but of certain "vast confederacies of banks, railways, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, mining corporations, power and development companies, and all the rest of the circle," whose very existence gives rise to the suspicion of a "money trust."

"Let me say again that what we are seeking is not destruction of any kind nor the disruption of any sound or honest thing, but merely the rule of right and of the common advantage. I am happy to say that a new spirit has begun to show itself in the last year or two among influential men of business, and, what is perhaps even more significant, among the lawyers who are their expert advisers; and that this spirit has displayed itself very notably in the last few months in an effort to return, in some degree at any rate, to the practices of genuine competition."

Labor and Capital

The labor question was next touched on. Governor Wilson maintained that it was a question only because we had not yet found the rule for the right adjustment of the interest of labor and capital.

"The working people of America—if they must be distinguished from the minority that constitutes the rest of it—are, of course, the backbone of the nation. No law that safeguards their life, that improves the physical and moral conditions under which they live, that makes their hours of labor rational and tolerable, that gives them freedom to act in their own interest, and that protects them where they cannot protect themselves, can properly be regarded as class legislation or as anything but as a measure taken in the interest of the whole people, whose partnership in right action we are trying to establish and make real and practical. It is in this spirit that we shall act if we are genuine spokesmen of the whole country."

Governor Wilson stated his position with regard to the Philippines, namely, that it is our duty there to set up the rule of justice and right for the benefit of the people who live in them.

He further outlined his own position:

"In the affairs of a great nation we plan and labor, not for the present only, but for the long future as well. There are great tasks of protection and conservation and development to which we have to address ourselves. Government has much more to do than merely to right wrongs and set the house in order.

Other Problems Before Us

"I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have been a spendthrift nation and must now husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the nation, to supplement the railways within our borders as

well as upon the isthmus. We must revive our merchant marine too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets.

"We must add to our present post-office service a parcels post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind."

With regard to the development of greater and more numerous waterways and the building up of a merchant marine Governor Wilson said we should follow great constructive lines and not fall back upon the "cheap device of bounties and subsidies." He said in part:

"There have been years when not a single ton of freight passed through the great Suez Canal in an American bottom, so empty are the seas of our ships and seamen. We must mean to put an end to that kind of thing or we would not be cutting a new canal at our very doors merely for the use of our men-of-war. We shall not manage the revival by the mere paltry device of tolls. We must build and buy ships in competition with the world. We can do it if we will but give ourselves leave."

Governor Wilson spoke of the duty of the government in promoting the agricultural, industrial and vocational education of its people. No other platform, he said, had given this "intimate vision of a party's duty. Education is part of the great task of conservation, part of the task of renewal and of perfected power."

In concluding he said:

"We represent the desire to set up an unentangled government, a government that cannot be used for private purposes, either in the field of business or in the field of politics; a government that will not tolerate the use of the organization of a great party to serve the personal aims and ambitions of any individual, and that will not permit legislation to be employed to further any private interest. Should I be entrusted with the great office of president, I would seek counsel wherever it could be had upon free terms. I know the temper of the great convention which nominated me; I know the temper of the country that lay back of that convention and spoke through it. I heed with deep thankfulness the message you bring me from it. I feel that I am surrounded by men whose principles and ambitions are those of true servants of the people. I thank God, and will take courage."



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PROMINENT DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

CHAPTER XLIII

Platform of the Democratic Party

TARIFF BLAMED FOR PRESENT CONDITIONS—PRIVATE MONOPOLY DENOUNCED—INCOME TAX AND POPULAR ELECTIONS—SIX-YEAR TERM FOR PRESIDENT—G. O. P. EXTRAVAGANCE BLAMED—COMPETITIVE BIDS BY BANKS—CONTROL OF MISSISSIPPI NATIONAL PROBLEM—COURTS BULWARKS OF LIBERTY—WASTE IN UNITED STATES RESOURCES—LAWS FOR MERCHANT MARINE—REVOCATION OF RUSSIAN TREATY.

The platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention is as follows:

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic presidents.

Tariff Blamed for Present Conditions

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government, honestly and economically administered. The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessities of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages.

The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff.

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and, in many cases, prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust controlled products and articles of American manu-

facture, which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home, should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metals and chemical schedules and the farmers' free list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

The Republican party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908 it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the nation.

We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff.

We take issue with them on this subject and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessities of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We, therefore, favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trust and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

Private Monopoly Denounced

We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock-watering, of discrimination in price and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions.

We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust and its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the anti-trust law against the officers of these corporations after the Court had declared that from the undisputed facts in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

We regret that the Sherman anti-trust law has received a judicial

construction depriving it of much of its efficacy, and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which it has been deprived by such interpretation.

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the federal government—the executive, the legislative and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the states of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the states of any of the rights reserved to them, and magnify by indirection the powers of the federal government.

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the government, both state and national, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the state in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the federal government shall exercise the powers reserved to it, but we insist that federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to and not substitute for state remedies.

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the federal Constitution authorizing an income tax and the amendment providing for the popular election of senators, and we call upon the people of all the states to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

Income Tax and Popular Elections

We note with gratification the unanimous sentiment in favor of publicity, before the election, of campaign contributions—a measure demanded in our national platform in 1908 and at that time opposed by the Republican party—and we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which presidential appointments are made, to the ownership and control of newspapers and to the expenditures made by and in behalf of those who aspire to presidential nominations, and we point for additional justification for this legislation to the enormous expenditure of money in behalf of the president and his predecessor in the recent contest for the Republican nomination for president.

The movement towards more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each state, which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries.

We direct that the national committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for presidential candidates shall be given and the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by

the party organization in each state where such expression and election are not provided for by state law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic National Committee and whose election is not provided for by law shall be chosen in each state at such primary elections and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials respectively.

Six-year Term for President

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum. We favor a single presidential term and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, making the president of the United States ineligible for re-election, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

At this time, when the Republican party, after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the federal government is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. We indorse its action and we challenge comparison of its record with that of any congress which has been controlled by our opponents.

We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy and constructive legislation:

It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing and perfecting remedial legislation.

Record Made by House

It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses and thus to reduce the high cost of living.

It has proposed an amendment to the federal Constitution, providing for the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people.

It has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign states.

It has required the publicity of campaign expenses both before and after election and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States senators and representatives.

It has also passed a bill to prevent the abuse of the writ of injunction.

It has passed a law establishing an eight hour day for workmen on all national public work.

It has passed a resolution which forced the president to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty.

And it has passed the great supply bills which lessen waste and extravagance and which reduce the annual expenses of the government by many millions of dollars.

We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a council of national defense, which will determine a definite naval program, with a view to increased efficiency and economy. The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine, and was sponsor for the new navy, will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

G. O. P. Extravagance Blamed

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with the shippers or patrons; also legislation preventing the over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service or do injustice to legitimate investments.

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank; and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or dominion by what is known as the Money Trust.

Competitive Bids by Banks

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and state, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the government.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

We recognize the value of vocational education and urge federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in co-operation with the several states.

Control of Mississippi National Problem

We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below and the diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem.

The preservation of the depth of its water for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel and the prevention of the overflow of its land and its consequent devastation resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service and the enormous loss of life and property impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the general government.

To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention, and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

We favor the co-operation of the United States and the respective states in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a view of co-ordinating plans for channel improvement with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the federal government of sufficient funds to develop plans for draining the same and to supervise the work of construction.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

We favor national aid to state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908, as follows:

"The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

Courts Bulwarks of Liberty

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unwavering justice and protection of life, personal liberty and property. If judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

"Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunction, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States senate in 1896, relating to contempt in federal courts [and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

"The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor represented separately in the president's cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

"We pledge the Democratic party so far as the federal jurisdiction extends to an employees' compensation law, providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.

Waste in United States Resources

"We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams and all the other material resources with which our country

has been so lavishly endowed, constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests, should be enacted and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

"The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purpose which they purport to serve and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land, upon which tree growth never existed and cannot be promoted, tends only to retard development, create discontent and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

"The public land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality toward the settler exhibiting a bona fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this government to the landless should be as attractive as possible, and the plain provisions of the forest reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forests should not be nullified by administrative regulations, which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

"Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska under conditions that will be a perfect guaranty against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations or interests.

"We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequaled in extent, variety or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequaled in its magnitude and importance.

"We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce and the comfort of the people of this country.

"And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view of safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must, in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce."

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end, we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the South, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury.

Laws for Merchant Marine

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea; and we favor the repeal of all laws and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion or with violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treaties are un-American and violate the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution of the United States.

We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coast-wise trade passing through the Panama Canal.

We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama Canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics and human health. Thus united and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests, but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should co-operate with the health agencies of our various states and cities, without interference with their prerogatives or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party; and we favor a reorganization of the civil service with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed, for all officers and employees; we also favor the extension to all classes of civil service employees of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability law; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employees for the redress of grievances.

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense and uncertainty incidental to the system as now administered.

We affirm the position thrice announced by the Democratic National Convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government.

We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until

the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of states and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginning of great and glorious careers.

We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

Revocation of Russian Treaty

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and the House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which does not recognize that equality of all of our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property.

We favor the establishment of a parcels post or postal express, and also the extension of the rural delivery system as rapidly as practicable.

We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915, and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

We command to the several states the adoption of a law making it an offense for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uniform of the United States, similar to the law passed by Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the territories in 1911.

We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

We call attention to the fact that the Democratic party's demand for a return to the rule of the people, expressed in the national platform four years ago, has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by a larger exercise of the reserve power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of governmental instrumentalities by special interests. For this reason, the national convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by which United States senators could be elected by direct vote. The

Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign; and we invite the co-operation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

CHAPTER XLIV

Woodrow Wilson

Democratic Candidate for President, 1912

THE SCHOOLMASTER IN POLITICS—UPHOLDS SENATORIAL PRIMARY LAW—
GOVERNOR WILSON A NATIONAL FIGURE—LAWYER AND TEACHER—
EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

It has been less than two years since James Smith, Jr., one-time senator from New Jersey, forced the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton University, upon a reluctant Democratic convention in that State, brought about his nomination for governor by the very methods that so long prevented his nomination at Baltimore and started him well on the road to the presidency of the United States. Before that time Woodrow Wilson's name was very familiar to educational and literary circles. He was a noted lecturer, writer and historian, and as head of a great university was, of course, in great demand as a speaker for important public occasions. He was thus a familiar figure on the platform, but not until Smith, then the acknowledged leader of the Democracy of New Jersey, which under that leadership had suffered constant and ever-growing defeat at the hands of the Republicans, decided that it had become necessary for the salvation of the party to pick out a man who could quickly and completely command the confidence of the people and go out and tell them of the new order of things, a man who could "make a campaign" and who could at the very beginning of the battle inspire respect and carry conviction, was the schoolmaster known in politics.

The Schoolmaster in Politics

Smith picked Wilson as the man of the hour. The president of Princeton had been "used" on more than one occasion as an "eminently respectable" in connection with the choice of United States senator, but never when there was any chance whatever of the legislature electing him. Thus, when Smith brought him forward with a real purpose, many of the old-timers in the party seriously demurred, expressing the belief that Wilson would cast a blight upon the campaign; that he would be the pedantic schoolmaster, talking over the heads of the people, and that the campaign would be a failure from the start. When the convention gathered in September it was evident that Smith had the notes necessary to land his chosen candidate, although it was perfectly evident that if left to the expression of their own sentiments they would have gone for former Mayor

Katzenbach, of Trenton, who had been defeated three years prior to that by John Franklin Fort.

As the campaign opened Smith got back of it, and, with his right-hand man, Nugent, skillfully and courageously entered into the contest, exerting herculean efforts to finance it. The result of that memorable campaign, one of the most dramatic, most educational and most successful ever waged in a state, is recent history.

Upholds Senatorial Primary Law

It was there that Smith made the most stupid blunder any political boss ever made, probably. He thought he had the new governor directly under his thumb to direct as he saw fit, and he paused to suggest that he wanted very much to go back to the United States senate, which he had not conspicuously adorned in the six years of his occupancy of a seat there. Unfortunately for him, there had been a primary election that year, in which the people expressed their preferences for United States senator, and Smith's name was not among them. Boss-like, he had felt sure that the law was a useless proposition and he knew how to evade it. All he needed was the help of the governor and the votes of the legislature could be lined up. But the governor-elect firmly, but gently, showed Smith how impossible it would be for him to ignore that primary law and do anything to prevent the election of James E. Martine, the choice at the primary, and against whose record and character not a suspicious finger could be pointed.

Smith was sent into throes of indignation. Such base ingratitude he had never before experienced in a machine-made candidate. True, he had told the candidate long before he became the candidate that he would not seek the senatorship because his health would not permit it. But that was a mere figure of speech, such as political gentlemen use in times of need. Now, he had concluded that the prize was fairly his, having put the candidate forward and done so much to advance his cause and bring his victory. That started the Smith enmity and it lasted to the very end of the balloting in the Baltimore convention.

Governor Wilson a National Figure

It was probably that fight with Smith and the advance record he made in the legislature of 1911 that brought Governor Wilson forcefully before the people of the nation as a constructive statesman and a leader of men. The progressive legislation put through that session under his guidance carried out all the pledges of reforms he had made to the people in his stirring campaign of six weeks. It showed that he meant what he said and that was something so new for candidates that it drew the attention of the nation to the man. After that the "Wilson boom," as it came to be known, grew day by day of its own momentum. There was constant and insistent demand from every section of the country for the governor's presence, and he spoke in many of the states, always pointing the way to better things, always counseling the higher life, always urging cleaner politics and a complete and everlasting severance of the ties which bound

the bosses and the party, through the bosses, to the powers of special privilege. Some of those who felt a keen interest in the welfare of the governor were sure that his break with Smith would be his undoing, that his future was settled and that he could never hope to get anywhere beyond the chair of governor. But as he moved about the country, gathering ever-widening circles of stanch friends, spreading the gospel of political truth, it was quickly discovered that that very fight, undertaken with rare courage, had done more to arouse admiration for him in the hearts of the people than anything he could have undertaken to do. Smith was busy many days at Baltimore, and some of his old friends in the national organization of which he was once a part listened to his tale of woe and aided him to a limit. When the limit was reached they deserted the Jersey foe and left him high and dry.

Lawyer and Teacher

This man who has thus so signally triumphed and who seems a man of destiny come forward in grave crisis, and who rose to national political prominence in less than two years, is a native of Virginia, only fifty-six years old, alive with vital energy, over-towering mental capacity, a keen sense of humor, a personal magnetism and a physique that stamp him a born leader of men.

He was baptized under the full name of Thomas Woodrow Wilson. He dropped the Thomas about the time that he completed his first book and took his first position as a teacher.

Mr. Wilson cannot, like many an office-seeker, appeal to the sentimentality of the public by an account of a self-made man's rise from poverty. His father and grandfather were educated men, prominent in their communities and while not rich, were able to give the aspiring young scholar a liberal education. It was not toward scholarship, however, that his earliest ambitions led him. While in college he resolved to become a public man. To that end he studied law and hung out his shingle. But his legal practice was not lucrative, and after eighteen months of it he gave it up and with it, for years to come, his desire for office. His father, Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, moved to Georgia when the boy was two years old, and later preached in various churches in North and South Carolina.

Young Wilson entered Davidson College at the age of seventeen. After two years he entered Princeton, from which he was graduated in 1879. He then studied law in the University of Virginia, receiving the degree of bachelor of laws in 1882. He received the degree of bachelor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins University in 1886, that of doctor of laws from Lake Forest University, North Carolina, in 1887, and that of doctor of literature from Yale University at its bicentennial celebration.

He occupied the position of adjunct professor in history in Bryn Mawr College, and was afterward professor of history and political economy in Wesleyan University. In 1890 he became professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton University. In 1895 the title of his

chair was changed to that of professor of jurisprudence, and upon its endowment he became McCormick professor of jurisprudence and politics. Professor Wilson also for several years gave a course of lectures in Johns Hopkins University. He gained fame also as a lecturer and writer. His work entitled "The State" and his "Life of George Washington" are among his best-known writings.

Professor Wilson became the thirteenth in the roll of presidents at Princeton in 1902 and the first layman to hold this office, all his predecessors having been Presbyterian clergymen. He is, however, a ruling elder in the Second Presbyterian Church of Princeton. As a professor he was very popular, and his elective classes were always among the largest.

Educational Reforms

During his administration at Princeton Dr. Wilson made two attempts to change materially the character of American education. In one project he not only failed, but alienated the support of a large body of the alumni, of many of the trustees and some of his co-workers on the teaching staff. That project, which did not succeed, was to establish the "quad" system for undergraduates. It was resented by the alumni as an attack on the student clubs, and the opposition became so strong that the president was asked by the board of trustees to withdraw his proposal.

The successful innovation was the preceptorial system. That called for the appointment of fifty teachers or preceptors, to be added to the faculty at an increased cost to the university of \$100,000 a year. But the alumni so thoroughly approved the plan that they told the president to go ahead and assured him that the money for the salaries would be forthcoming. The plan succeeded, and loyal alumni have furnished the funds. This preceptorial system, by which each student gets the benefit of personal contact with a teacher, is referred to the president's admirers as the best thing he has done in the field of education. After twenty-five years of service as an educator, he resigned the presidency of Princeton. During his campaign for governor of New Jersey there was a general tendency to look askance at the "schoolmaster in politics."

The platform on which Wilson was chosen governor pledged his party to the enactment of a workmen's compensation act, a reform of the election laws of the state which would make direct nominations possible, a corrupt practices act and a public utilities commission bill. All these measures were written into the statute books of New Jersey during the first year of Governor Wilson's term in spite of the fact that one house of the state legislature was Republican. In addition a law was passed authorizing municipalities to adopt a commission form of government as well as several other measures of a reformatory character.

CHAPTER XLV

Thomas Riley Marshall

Democratic Candidate for Vice-President, 1912

A STRONG CHARACTER—HIS INDEPENDENCE—HOW HE CAME TO BE GOVERNOR.

Thomas Riley Marshall is a man who has sprung more suddenly into the very center of all the intensity of the limelight than any other public man in America now occupying that fiercely illuminated spot. Four years ago if almost anyone outside of Columbia City, Ind., had been asked who Thomas Riley Marshall was, he would probably had had to look up the records before answering that Mr. Marshall was a member of the law firm of Marshall, McNagny and Clugston of Columbia City. In the last four years anyone in Indiana, and a few people outside, could have told inquirers that Marshall was the new Democratic governor of Indiana. To-day he is known the country over as the man who was speedily nominated for the vice-presidency of the United States by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore after the delegates had spent seven strenuous days, and had taken forty-six separate and distinct ballots, to name Woodrow Wilson for the presidency—and quite a few million people in this country are comfortably confident that Thomas Riley Marshall is the man who will handle the gavel in the United States senate when James Schoolcraft Sherman passes it over on the fourth of March, 1913.

A Strong Character

But, little as was generally known of Mr. Marshall until his nomination at Baltimore, the people of this country have been quickly assimilating a good deal of information about him since that time. They have learned that he is a man of much originality, force and brains, and that he has a record not only as a well-equipped and able lawyer, but also as a very efficient executive in the administration of the governorship of Indiana.

Thomas Riley Marshall was born at Manchester, Ind., March 14, 1854, so that he will lack only ten days of fifty-nine years when he is installed into the vice-presidency—if he happens to be elected to that high office. He was graduated from Wabash College in 1873 with the degree of bachelor of arts, and in 1876, after taking a post-graduate course, he received the degree of master of arts from the same institution. Like

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WOODROW WILSON AND HIS FAMILY

The group includes Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. Wilson with their three daughters, Margaret, Eleanor and Jessie Wilson.





Photo by Brown Bros.

BIRTHPLACE OF WOODROW WILSON AT STAUNTON, VIRGINIA



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WOODROW WILSON'S HOME AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

his running-mate on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Marshall has always been deeply interested in the subject of education, and besides being an active and valuable trustee of Wabash College, he has received the degree of doctor of laws three times—in 1909 from his alma mater, in 1910 from Notre Dame University, and in 1911 from the University of Pennsylvania.

Governor Marshall has been described as “a progressive who never takes a pessimistic view of things political or otherwise.” Marshall has been Indiana’s governor since 1908, receiving a majority of 15,000 at the same time that the Hoosier State went for Taft by 10,000. His election was all the more noteworthy inasmuch as in 1904 Indiana had gone Republican by more than 85,000.

His Independence

Marshall is a short, slender, wiry man, fifty-eight years old, with a keen eye and a lively interest in public affairs. There is little of the politician about him. In fact, from the moment that he became the nominee for governor, he was the despair of the party leaders throughout the state. He did his campaigning in his own way, journeying from town to town with Mrs. Marshall—she went to every meeting at which he spoke—and calmly telling the voters what they might expect if they elected him. He did not go in for heart-to-heart conferences with the leader of every town, nor did he resort to the business of general hand-shaking, cigar-giving and such like conventional forms of winning the hearts of the voters. When he had finished touring the state, he and Mrs. Marshall went back home to Columbia City and waited. Election day came and “Little Tom” Marshall became governor.

In the course of many speeches Marshall has made clear his attitude on most of the questions of the day. His generally progressive views, however, do not carry him to the point of favoring the recall of judges and of judicial decisions. Speaking before the state convention which indorsed him for president last March, he said:

“Lincoln held it to be the inalienable right of an unsuccessful litigant to go down to the tavern and cuss the court. It is the theory of Roosevelt that it is the right of the unsuccessful litigant to go down to the tavern and overrule the court. Bitterness of spirit and indignation of what I deem to be judicial injustice seize me. Even now, I am chafing under what I conceive to be the unwarranted interference of the courts with my prerogatives. But my sober judgment, looking to the permanent good of the people, impels me to insist that the courts must remain free and untrammeled, that we must first seek relief through the remedy we now have and patiently abide the reversal of judicial injustice. Until the provisions of our present constitution with reference to officials are tried, and until graver evils arise than have thus far arisen, there is but slight demand for the initiative, referendum and recall.”

How He Came to Be Governor

Marshall has been active in politics for many years, but never had held public office until he was elected governor of Indiana in 1908. In 1906

he was asked by the district committee to take the nomination for Congress, but declined. He said he had strong personal reasons for not wishing to go to Washington as a member of either House of Congress.

"It is not very likely you would have to go," said one of the committee-men, "but nearly every decent Democrat in this vicinity has been defeated for Congress once, and some twice. It's about time you took a licking like a man and a Democrat. What do you want, anyhow?"

"I would take a licking, all-right," Marshall replied, "but I'm afraid I would be elected. The only thing I want from the party is a nomination for governor." He received the coveted nomination and was elected governor by 15,000 plurality, although Taft carried Indiana by 10,000.

Sunday baseball was a question with which he had to wrestle as governor. A bill legalizing Sunday games passed both houses and went to him for approval. Marshall was opposed to Sunday ball, but he took the stand that his personal view in the matter should not outweigh the view of a large majority of the legislators elected to make the laws. He vetoed the first bill, however, because it did not repeal a law already on the books which made Sunday baseball illegal. Whereupon the legislature redrew the bill and submitted it again. This time he signed it, notwithstanding the strong protest of the strict church element.

CHAPTER XLVI

Formation of the Progressive Party

THE BASIS FOR THE NEW PARTY—THE GREAT MASS MEETING—THE PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION—CHAIRMAN BEVERIDGE'S GREAT SPEECH—BEVERIDGE'S "HITS"—CONTESTED DELEGATES CANNOT VOTE—ROOSEVELT'S "CONFESSTION OF FAITH"—PURPOSES OF THE PARTY—RECALL OF JUDGES—SOUTHERN NEGROES BARRED—PARTY NAME ADOPTED—GOOD NEWS FROM NEW YORK—PRENDERGAST NAMES ROOSEVELT—SECONDING SPEECHES MADE—BLUE AND GRAY UNITED—TUMULT IS RENEWED—ROOSEVELT IS NOMINATED—DEMONSTRATION FOR JOHNSON—"TWO DREADNOUGHTS"—JOHNSON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—ENDED WITH THE DOXOLOGY.

The chain of events which led up to the organization of the National Progressive party have already been outlined in the account of the proceedings of the Republican National Convention. By Thursday noon of convention week (June 20th) it became apparent that the Taft forces, who so far had controlled the national committee, the convention itself and the credentials committee, were in a position to continue their control, and that it was their determination to reject the demands of the Roosevelt leaders for the elimination of the seventy-eight Taft delegates over whom the grim struggle was being waged.

The situation was fully canvassed by Colonel Roosevelt and his associates, including Governor Hadley, Senator Dixon, William Flinn, Governor Johnson, Judge Lindsey, Governor Stubbs and others. Thursday afternoon and evening were given over to a series of conferences for determining the course to be pursued by the Roosevelt forces.

The Basis for the New Party

Late Thursday night Colonel Roosevelt issued a statement in which he set forth that he had gone into the fight for certain great principles; that on these principles he had appealed straight to the people; that through the direct primaries, in spite of the states where there was no opportunity for direct popular expression, a majority of the Republican voters had indorsed him by the election of a clear majority of all the convention delegates; that when his opponents with Mr. Taft's encouragement, found they could not beat him by fair means, they adopted foul means; that the success of the efforts to defeat him for the Republican

nomination was attained only by the most barefaced fraud and theft, and that in consequence no honest man was obliged to recognize any action of the fraudulent convention as binding on the rank and file of the party. Mr. Roosevelt's statement then concluded:

"If the honestly elected majority of the convention choose to proceed with business and to nominate me as the candidate of the real Republican party, I shall accept. If some among them fear to take such a stand and the remainder choose to inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the presidency as a Progressive on a Progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among Progressives favors my being nominated, I shall fight the campaign through, win or lose, even if I do not get a single electoral vote.

"I do not wish a single man to support me from any personal feeling for me. I have nothing to offer any man; any man who supports me will do so without hope of gain and at the risk of personal loss and discomfort. But if, having this in view, those fervent in this great fight for the rule of the people and for social and industrial justice, which has now also become a clear-cut fight for honesty against dishonesty, fraud and theft, desire me to lead the fight, I will do so.

"There can be no cause for which it is better worth while to fight, none in which it is of less consequence what happens to the individual himself provided only that he valiantly does his duty in the forward movement.

"I shall make my appeal to all honest men, east and west, north and south, and gladly abide the result, whatever that result may be."

The Great Mass Meeting

As a result of this declaration, when the futility of attempting to break the Taft majority in the convention was apparent, a mass convention was arranged to be held in the Orchestra Hall on Saturday night, June 22d. The great hall was crowded to its capacity. Governor Johnson, of California, who was one of the earliest and most ardent of the third party advocates, presided and made a stirring speech in which he analyzed and characterized what the Roosevelt forces considered the infamy of the Republican convention. Johnson was followed by W. W. Prendergast, of New York, who nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the tentative Progressive nomination for president. The nomination was seconded by Medill McCormick, of Chicago, and was unanimously carried by acclamation.

The meeting then adopted resolutions reciting their right to act for the real Republican party and their inability to defeat the conspiracy of the convention bosses as their reasons for the independent nomination of Roosevelt, and appointing a committee to notify the latter of his nomination and to request him to appear before the convention.

Colonel Roosevelt soon made his appearance and amid a tumult of enthusiasm and applause accepted the nomination tentatively in a speech reiterating his views as previously publicly expressed. The meet-

ing adjourned after providing for arrangements for a subsequent National Progressive Convention.

The Progressive Convention

It was in consequence of these movements that the first national convention of the newly born National Progressive party assembled in the Coliseum at Chicago on Monday, August 5th, for the permanent organization of the party, the formal nomination of candidates and the promulgation of party principles.

It was more than the birth of a new party. It was the dedication of a great body of earnest and courageous men and women to the service of the public, to a war against privilege and evil and for the betterment of conditions, to the end that suffering may be reduced and human happiness and comfort increased. It was the assembling not simply of a convention composed of delegates representing the people, but an assembling of men who are of the people, whose aspirations and purposes are those of the people, who share with uncounted millions in the desire for conditions of greater human liberty and a brighter prospect for the future of themselves and their children.

When Senator Joseph M. Dixon, as chairman of the provisional national committee, called the convention to order, he spoke briefly of the situation, ordered the reading of the call for the convention, introduced the Rev. T. F. Dornblazer for a fervent prayer, and then announced ex-Senator Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, of Indiana, as temporary chairman.

Chairman Beveridge's Great Speech

Chairman Beveridge made not only the greatest political speech of his career, but the greatest speech which men in this convention had ever heard. Whatever impression it may make upon those who read it, it held this great audience enthralled for nearly two hours.

There is not much in the speech that has not been said before, but there has been thus far no such clear presentation of the purposes and policies of the progressive movement, no such clear description of what are the wrongs against which the people as a whole must contend and no such invigorating or encouraging announcement of the means by which the social and industrial evils can and will be met and overcome if the people of the nation are true to themselves and to their convictions.

"The invisible government," composed of special privilege and corrupt political manipulators, manipulators working in both parties and working always against the public interest and for that of special privilege, was described as never before. The designation of this corrupt and debauching power which has controlled legislation, state and national, controlled party organizations, and which works always as a bipartisan combination, as "the invisible government," was itself a revelation. Its portrayal of the power against which the people must wage unremitting war, and which can be fought successfully only by such a party movement as that being put under way, aroused the convention to the highest state of enthusiasm.

His discussion of business, of the sham fight made by politicians against recognized evils in business, always to the advantage of the evils themselves and the discouragement of honest and independent business and the sacrifice of the public welfare, illuminated this subject as has seldom been done, and presented in clear and concrete form how the Progressive party intends to treat the whole business situation honestly and justly, with the purpose of giving the greatest aid and encouragement to all honest business, big and little, and to war not upon business itself, but upon the evils which have been permitted to establish themselves through the operations of "the invisible governments."

Some of the sentences from Chairman Beveridge's speech that evoked the greatest applause were as follows:

Beveridge's "Hits"

"Like other free people, most of we Americans are progressive or reactionary, liberal or conservative. Yet to-day neither of the old parties is either wholly progressive or wholly reactionary. Democratic politicians and office seekers say to reactionary Democratic voters that the Democratic party is reactionary enough to express reactionary views; and they say to progressive Democrats that the Democratic party is progressive enough to express progressive views. At the same time, Republican politicians and office seekers say the same thing about the Republican party. There is no nation-wide unity of principle in either party, no stability of purpose, no clear-cut and sincere program.

"The special interests which suck the people's substance are bipartisan. They use both parties. They are the invisible government behind our visible government. Democratic and Republican bosses alike are brother officers of this hidden power. It is this invisible government which is the real danger to American institutions. Its crude work at Chicago in June, which the people were able to see, was no more wicked than its skillful work everywhere and always which the people are not able to see.

"The root of the wrongs which hurt the people is the fact that the people's government has been taken away from them. Their government must be given back to the people. And so the first purpose of the Progressive party is to make sure the rule of the people. The rule of the people means that the people themselves shall nominate, as well as elect, all candidates for office, including senators and presidents of the United States. What profiteth it the people if they do only the electing while the invisible government does the nominating?

"With the growth of big business came business evils just as great. One of these wrongs is overcapitalization, which taxes the people's very living. Another is the manipulation of prices. Another is interference in the making of the people's laws and the running of the people's government in the unjust interest of evil business. Getting laws that enable particular interests to rob the people, and even to gather criminal riches from human health and life, is still another.

"Behind rotten laws and preventing sound laws, stands the corrupt boss; behind the corrupt boss stands the robber interest; and commanding these powers of pillage stands bloated human greed. It is this conspiracy of evil we must overthrow if we would get the honest laws we need. It is this invisible government we must destroy if we would save American institutions.

"These reforms, so vital to honest American business, the Progressive party will accomplish. We mean to put new business laws on our statute books which will tell American business men what they can do and what they cannot do. We mean to make our business laws clear instead of foggy—to make them plainly state just what things are criminal and what are lawful. And we mean that the penalty for things criminal shall be prison sentences that actually punish the real offender, instead of money fines that hurt nobody but the people, who must pay them in the end.

Senator Beveridge concluded amid an outburst of prolonged applause. He had been talking for more than an hour and a half, but had received close and enthusiastic attention throughout.

After the temporary organization had been completed, the rules of the House of Representatives, amended in many particulars, were presented as the rules of the convention. They were adopted without debate.

Contested Delegates Cannot Vote

A new rule barring contested delegates from voting on any question before the convention was included in the amendments and was greeted with cheers. It was as follows:

"In the event of contest regarding the right of any delegate or alternate to sit in this convention, notice of such contest shall be filed with the secretary, and any delegate or alternate whose seat has been contested in good faith shall stand aside and not be permitted to vote as a member of this convention until his credentials shall have been accepted by the convention, provided, however, that in the make-up of the temporary roll of this convention the recommendations of the provisional national committee shall be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of the right to sit as delegates or alternates in this convention without the right to vote until the credentials in question shall have finally been determined by the convention itself."

When Chairman Beveridge called the convention to order on Tuesday, and the Rev. Father Andrew Spety had offered prayer, a telegram was read from Colonel William R. Nelson, of the *Kansas City Star*. It was dated Magnolia, Mass., and was as follows:

"Lord, how I wish I were with you. What a great day, the launching of a party of imagination, hope and prospects. We can afford to give the other fellows their memories and disappointments. The past has no interests for us. The future is our fruit. Give Colonel Roosevelt my love. I have never missed a chance to place a bet on him and have never lost when there was a square deal."

"The Lord is surely with us. He has given us the men as well as the

opportunity. I cannot help but feel what a narrow escape we had in the June convention. Roosevelt might have been nominated there. My congratulations to everybody, and regret that I cannot be with you."

Wild applause followed the reading of the telegram. When it had died away the entire audience stood and sang "America," under the leadership of a musical director.

When Chairman Beveridge announced the arrival of Colonel Roosevelt at the Coliseum in response to the invitation of the convention, the delegates and the galleries jumped to their feet and cheered. A minute later the Colonel appeared on the stage almost as if by magic. In the midst of the deafening din he stepped on to the insulated speaking platform under the big sounding board. He smiled his appreciation of the demonstration and bowed to the right and left. With a broad grin he waved greetings to friends on the stage and floor.

The delegates meantime stood on their chairs and cheered until the rafters rang. They waved flags and bandanas. The G. A. R. fife and drum corps on the stage marched up to where the Colonel stood, and each veteran got a warm greeting and handshake from the Progressives' leader. Then, surrounding the former president, the fifers and drummers played patriotic tunes. The band in its far-away loft at the end of the great hall also was playing away, judging from the antics of the leader, but scarce a strain could be heard. "We want *Teddy!*" chanted many delegates. Others gave the call of the bull moose. Still others sang, but the great majority just yelled.

Roosevelt's "Confession of Faith"

When at the end of an hour the tumult subsided Colonel Roosevelt plunged into the delivery of his speech.

The dominant note in the whole address was the paramount importance of human rights and human welfare. Thus he points out how more and more important are becoming the ever-increasing army of wage-earners, and how more and more necessary it is that the nation shall accept its responsibilities to this most important class. This leads naturally to the demand that there shall be devised some system of industrial assurance, that there shall be laws to safeguard against injury, and that there shall be opportunity for advancement in the earning capacity of all toilers.

The second great feature of the speech was the discussion of popular government. He has always believed in the right and the power of the people to control their own government. Now he demands that they shall exercise that power to enforce that right. No clearer presentation of the arguments in behalf of popular government have ever been presented, and their effect upon the convention was manifest in the close attention and the frequent outbursts of applause.

Colonel Roosevelt's declaration that the ballot was "just as necessary for one sex as another" brought a great cheer from the delegates, particularly the women.

In his discussion of tariff and the trusts, Colonel Roosevelt was equally impressive. He believes in protection, but protection properly admin-



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
President

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
Vice-President

istered. He would have a commission to deal with the question as a purely economic one, removing it entirely from the field of politics and dealing with it so that there shall be an equitable distribution of all benefits. It should be a distribution that will "pass prosperity around," he said, borrowing the phrase from the Beveridge speech of Monday.

Concerning the regulation of the trusts, he would also establish a commission to regulate them, but he would enact legislation in the first place that would clearly define all for business men what they can and cannot do.

In this connection, he discussed the "dissolution" of the Tobacco and the Standard Oil trusts as travesties upon justice and upon the administration of law.

Purposes of the Party

Of the purposes of the Progressive party Colonel Roosevelt said:

"It seems to me, therefore, that the time is ripe, and overripe, for a genuine progressive movement, nation-wide and justice loving, sprung from and responsible to the people themselves, and sundered by a great gulf from both of the old party organizations, while representing all that is best in the hopes, beliefs and aspirations of the plain people who make up the immense majority of the rank and file of both the old parties.

"The first essential in the Progressive program is the right of the people to rule. But a few months ago our opponents were assuring us with insincere clamor that it was absurd for us to talk about desiring that the people should rule, because, as a matter of fact, the people actually do rule. Since that time the actions of the Chicago convention, and to an only less degree of the Baltimore convention, have shown in striking fashion how little the people do rule under our present conditions.

"We should provide by national law for presidential primaries. We should provide for the election of United States senators by popular vote. We should provide for a short ballot; nothing makes it harder for the people to control their public servants than to force them to vote for so many officials that they cannot really keep track of any one of them, so that each becomes indistinguishable in the crowd around him. There must be stringent and efficient corrupt practices acts, applying to the primaries as well as the elections; and there should be publicity of campaign contributions during the campaign.

"We should provide throughout this union for giving the people in every state the real right to rule themselves, and really and not nominally to control their public servants and their agencies for doing the public business; an incident of this being giving the people the right themselves to do this public business if they find it impossible to get what they desire through the existing agencies.

"I do not attempt to dogmatize as to the machinery by which this end should be achieved. In each community it must be shaped so as to correspond not merely with the needs but with the customs and ways of thought of that community, and no community has a right to dictate to any other in this matter. But wherever representative government has

in actual fact become non-representative there the people should secure to themselves the initiative, the referendum and the recall, doing it in such fashion as to make it evident that they do not intend to use these instrumentalities wantonly or frequently, but to hold them ready for use in order to correct the misdeeds or failures of the public servants when it has become evident that these misdeeds and failures cannot be corrected in ordinary and normal fashion. The administrative officer should be given full power, for otherwise he cannot do well the people's work; and the people should be given full power over him."

Recall of Judges

On the recall of judges Colonel Roosevelt said:

"The American people, and not the courts, are to determine their own fundamental policies. The people should have power to deal with the effect of the acts of all their governmental agencies. This must be extended to include the effects of judicial acts as well as the acts of the executive and legislative representatives of the people. Where the judge merely does justice as between man and man, not dealing with constitutional questions, then the interest of the public is only to see that he is a wise and upright judge.

"This will necessitate the establishment of machinery for making much easier of amendment both the national and the several state constitutions, especially with the view of prompt action on certain judicial decisions—action as specific and limited as that taken by the passage of the eleventh amendment to the national constitution. We are not in this decrying the courts. That was reserved for the Chicago convention in its plank respecting impeachment.

"Impeachment implies the proof of dishonesty. We do not question the general honesty of the courts. But in applying to present-day social conditions the general prohibitions that were intended originally as safeguards to the citizen against the arbitrary power of government in the hands of caste and privilege, these prohibitions have been turned by the courts from safeguards against political and social privilege into barriers against political and social justice and advancement.

"Our purpose is not to impugn the courts, but to emancipate them from a position where they stand in the way of social justice; and to emancipate the people, in an orderly way, from the iniquity of enforced submission to a doctrine which would turn constitutional provisions which were intended to favor social justice and advancement into prohibitions against such justice and advancement.

"We in America have peculiar need thus to make the acts of the courts subject to the people, because, owing to causes which I need not now discuss, the courts have here grown to occupy a position unknown in any other country, a position of superiority over both the legislature and the executive. Just at this time, when we have begun in this country to move toward social and industrial betterment and true industrial democracy, this attitude on the part of the courts is of grave portent, because privilege

has intrenched itself in many courts, just as it formerly intrenched itself in many legislative bodies and in many executive offices."

An outburst of cheers and applause greeted the end of the speech and the men of the platform crowded about the Colonel wringing his hand. Colonel Roosevelt left the hall immediately. The convention then sang a song, entitled "Roosevelt," to the music of "Maryland, My Maryland."

W. Frank Knox, of Michigan, took the platform and as chairman, presented the report of the credentials committee.

Southern Negroes Barred

The report barred every negro delegate who had contested a seat in the convention. In addition it threw out a white delegation from Florida and four contestants from the first and second Ohio districts, who were charged by their opponents with representing the Cox-Taft Republican machine in the city of Cincinnati.

The report embraced in its discussion of the Mississippi contests a declaration that the use of the word "white" in the call issued for a Lily White state convention by B. F. Fridge in that state was "disavowed" by the convention.

The report was adopted without discussion and without a dissenting vote. None of the friends of the ousted negro delegation even attempted to interfere with its passage.

Following the adoption of a minor amendment to the rules of the convention the session adjourned until 11 o'clock Wednesday.

On Wednesday, the last day of the convention, all the semblance of a great moral movement was retained. At its opening in the morning there were but 6,000 in the hall. It was raining and muddy, but later in the day the great crowds of the day before filled the Coliseum.

The first militant religious melody sung in the morning by the convention was "Onward, Christian Soldiers, Marching As to War." This was varied at times by the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the national melodies, all of which were sung heartily, almost soulfully, by the audience. The music effects of the convention have been indeed thrillingly interesting.

Chairman Beveridge introduced Charles E. Scott, of Alabama, chairman of the committee on permanent organization. He presented a report recommending that the temporary organization be made permanent, which was adopted without debate.

Party Name Adopted

A report was then brought in from the rules committee. The report designated the party as the "Progressive party," eliminating the word "national," which had previously been used. The rules report fixed the basis of representation. The report would allow one delegate in the national convention for each 10,000 votes cast for Progressive candidates at the preceding election, one delegate for each congressman-at-large and one for each United States senator. One delegate from Hawaii, one from Alaska and one from the District of Columbia were allowed in the report.

A provision in the new rules that no federal office holder could hold a seat as national committeeman was cheered by the delegates. Applause also greeted the rule which pledged the party to the selection of candidates for office and delegates to conventions by primaries wherever possible.

The new rules were presented by Medill McCormick, and he moved their adoption. John L. Hamilton, of Illinois, moved to make the name of the party either "Progressive" or "National Progressive." He explained that this amendment was necessary to comply with the election laws of various states. There was some question as to this amendment, and the motion to adopt the rules was temporarily withdrawn.

Good News from New York

Chairman Beveridge announced that the convention would listen to a speech by William H. Hotchkiss, Progressive state chairman of New York, and would take a recess to await the platform. Meantime the vote of the rules was put over until after the recess. Mr. Hotchkiss was cheered as he reviewed the work of organizing the Progressive party in New York. "The people of New York, boss ridden and fettered by Barnes and Murphy," he said, "are to-day as free as California and as progressive as Kansas." He asserted that the Progressive party would poll twenty-five to thirty per cent of the Tammany vote in New York. He concluded with a prediction of certain victory in November.

A motion to recess until 1.15 evoked the first note of opposition to the plans of leaders. A chorus of "noes" greeted the motion to recess. Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, moved as a substitute that the convention proceed with the nominations without awaiting the platform. Chairman Beveridge ruled this out of order, as the rules of the convention provided for the adoption of the platform. Allen then moved to suspend the rules and proceed to nominate.

Timothy Woodruff made a brief speech opposing Allen's motion. William Flinn, of Pennsylvania, said that to recess at this time would delay things. "Many of the delegates have arranged to go home at 5.30 o'clock this afternoon," said Flinn, "and it is not right to waste the time and keep them here." Former Governor Fort, of New Jersey, moved as an amendment that the convention recess until 1 o'clock. After some discussion this was adopted and at 12.26 the convention went into recess until 1 o'clock.

Many of the delegates and spectators remained in their seats during the recess. When 1 o'clock, the hour set for the convention to reconvene, arrived, there were many vacant seats on the floor. It was not until 1.20 o'clock that Chairman Beveridge dropped the gavel.

Medill McCormick presented changes made in the code of rules for the new party. The amended rules changed the basis of representation in the national convention from one delegate for each 10,000 votes cast for the Progressive candidates at previous elections to one delegate for each 5000 voters. The rules were also changed to allow any state represented in this convention to run a Progressive ticket under any other

party name when the exigencies of the political situation made it advisable. A special rule presented by H. Lee Mitchell recognizing the Washington party in Pennsylvania as the Progressive party was added.

An amendment adding four women to the national committee as members-at-large was greeted with applause, and the rules were adopted without debate.

Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, announcing that the platform would not be ready for an hour and a half, renewed the motion to suspend the rules and proceed to nominate. This time the motion went through without serious objection.

Prendergast Names Roosevelt

But here the proceedings were interrupted, for William A. Prendergast, of New York, scheduled to nominate Roosevelt, was not in the hall. Searchers hurried out to find him and the band filled in the wait. There was spirited singing until Prendergast appeared. As he was introduced and the bull moose call sounded through the hall a hush followed and Prendergast began his speech.

Prendergast concluded his speech at 2.22 and a demonstration was immediately begun. Delegates and spectators jumped upon their chairs and a chorus of cheering followed. A sea of waving red bandannas appeared over the heads of the yelling delegates and hats were thrown into the air. Over the Colorado delegation appeared a banner inscribed:

“Lindsey for Vice-President.”

From a gallery a big American flag was dropped. To it was attached a picture of Colonel Roosevelt in rough rider uniform. It was greeted with an outburst of cheers. Enthusiasm grew, and in the midst of the tumult a Minnesota delegate broke loose the state standard and started up the center aisle. New York fell into line, the Texas standard surmounting a pole bearing an American flag came next and soon every state standard was swinging over a yelling, shrieking crowd that surged through the aisles.

Away up in the band gallery the strains of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” were heard. Out of the confused roar a few strong voices took up the stirring anthem. The shrill shriek of the fifes of the veteran fife and drum corps rose above the bedlam and the song was lost in the noise.

Even some of the women delegates joined the crowd in the aisles, waving handkerchiefs and cheering.

When the convention had been in an uproar for twenty minutes the veteran fife and drum corps appeared on the floor and, headed by a boy carrying two flags, joined the crowd, parading in the aisles. A Montana delegate, bearing a little girl on his shoulders, followed the veterans.

High up in the roof of the big hall a squad of workmen ran out on the steel rafters. They dropped a huge flag. The band swung into “America,” and the delegates and spectators, bareheaded and standing, sang the national anthem. “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” and “Dixie” were also sung by the delegates.

Seconding Speeches Made

When the demonstration subsided, after forty-five minutes, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, made the first of the seconding speeches, and then Beveridge announced: "Mr. Funk, of Illinois, will escort Miss Jane Addams to the platform."

As the noted sociological worker appeared there was an outburst of enthusiasm, and delegates and spectators gave her three cheers. Her speech was frequently interrupted by applause. As Miss Addams concluded, one of the women delegates handed to her a yellow "votes for women" banner, and a demonstration began as she left the platform and descended to the floor of the delegates. The delegates fell in behind her and followed the yellow banner through the aisles. Some state standards were swung into line, but Chairman Beveridge pounded with his gavel and held up his watch to the shouting delegates to stop the demonstration.

When quiet was restored Alexander T. Hamilton, of Georgia, was introduced as a delegate from Colonel Roosevelt's mother's state. He made a brief speech, seconding the nomination of Roosevelt.

Blue and Gray United

General Horatio C. King, of New York, followed with a Roosevelt speech. He declared that because of the late hour he would not make a long speech. King appeared as a union veteran. He was followed by Colonel T. P. Lloyd, of Florida, a confederate veteran. General King escorted the old confederate soldier to the platform and stood with his arm around his shoulder as the crowd cheered its approval. The confederate veteran was an old man, with an empty right sleeve, and the delegates cheered him heartily. "Colonel Lloyd is a confederate veteran," said Chairman Beveridge, "and he carries four bullets in his person." Another cheer greeted this announcement. The old confederate soldier read his speech in a low voice, but spectators sat silent and attentive till he concluded.

"I come from the far south," he said, "to add the loyal voice of the southern confederacy to the general acclaim. For forty long years the south has slumbered. For forty long years the insidious tongue of ignorance has whispered hatred in her dull ear. For forty years the pall of prejudice has hung like a dark cloud over our fair domain, men of small minds have fostered and augmented hatred and prejudice, but I come to you to-day bringing a message of peace and a message of friendship—a message of brotherhood. Politicians in both the Republican and Democratic party have fanned the flame of hatred between the north and south and between the races living in the south.

"The Republican party was a factional party. It existed in the south only for the purpose of keeping up the prejudices and misunderstandings between the north and south; but the educated and liberal-minded men living south of the Ohio river have long since ceased to carry heartache and ill feeling because of the war. For years they have been eager and willing to forget and to forgive, for years they have patiently awaited the

opportunity to prove their loyalty to the flag of the Union. I say to you in all sincerity and trust that the old Republican party alone has prevented the real social and political union of the south and the north.

"We rejoice with you over the destruction of malign influence perpetuated by the Republican party, and I come here to-day to add my voice to the shout of joy which has gone up all over this great land when it became known that the Republican party was marked for destruction. The south will welcome the party of liberal and progressive ideas. We want to forget the war. We appeal to the generous-hearted men in the north to help us by forbearance and sympathy."

Colonel Lloyd's speech was cheered. He was followed by General John H. McDowell, of Tennessee, commander of the confederate veterans in that state. "The war has been over for fifty years," said McDowell. "I'm here to hold out to the brave union soldier the olive branch of peace and good will. I'm here to nominate the man who has the courage and the ability to lead us in this great battle for human rights." General McDowell's speech was greeted with cheers, and when he endeavored to close the delegates yelled: "Go on! Go on!"

He concluded, however, with these words: "I want to repeat to the brave comrades who confronted me in the war that the greatest mission bearing upon my heart before I cross the river Styx is that I may see this nation united once more. There is more in my heart I would like to say, but time will not permit it; but until the polls close in November you will find me following that noble leader with my hat in the ring."

Tumult is Renewed

The delegates jumped to their chairs and shouted. The band played "Dixie," and floor and galleries joined in singing. The delegates crowded out into the aisles and paraded about the floor.

Chairman Beveridge succeeded in quieting the tumult of about five minutes. By this time the formality of call of states had been wholly dispensed with and Beveridge recognized Henry J. Allen, of Kansas, also to second the nomination of Roosevelt. Allen was frequently interrupted by applause and cheers, and the conclusion of his speech was greeted with an outburst of enthusiasm.

Former Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island, was then recognized. He was followed by P. V. Collins, of Minnesota, who seconded the nomination on behalf of the farmers, characterizing Colonel Roosevelt as the only friend of the farmer in the present campaign. John J. Sullivan, of Ohio, and Robert S. Fisher, of Arizona, also delivered brief seconding speeches.

This ended the seconding speeches. Chairman Beveridge recognized William Draper Lewis, chairman of the resolutions committee, to present the platform.

A round of applause greeted the reading of the direct primary, initiative, referendum and recall planks. The woman suffrage plank was roundly cheered. The recall of judicials plank received a cheer. Jury trials in contempt of court cases and a restriction of the use of the injunc-

tion and labor disputes recommended in the platform were received by the convention with enthusiasm. The prohibition of child labor and the fixing of a minimum wage scale for women, which formed another plank, were applauded. General applause greeted the "industrial commission" plank, which recommended a commission to control interstate business corporations, modeled after the interstate commerce commission.

Roosevelt is Nominated

Dean Lewis concluded the platform at 5.35 and a demonstration was begun. But Senator Beveridge cut it short and the platform was adopted without a dissenting voice.

Governor Carey, of Wyoming, moved to suspend the rules and declared Theodore Roosevelt the nominee for president.

"Does the chair hear a second by two states?" demanded Beveridge, and a roar swept the hall. "If it didn't take so long I would name all the states as seconding the motion," said Beveridge. "Those in favor of the motion will answer 'aye.'" From the floor there arose a rolling roar of "aye!" A dull silence greeted the call for "noes." "The ayes seem to have it," began Beveridge, and a cheer interrupted him. "The ayes have it," he concluded when he could be heard, "and Theodore Roosevelt is declared the nominee of this convention."

Beveridge halted an incipient demonstration, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana, took the platform to nominate Governor Hiram W. Johnson, of California, for vice-president.

Demonstration for Johnson

Parker's speech was brief, and when he concluded a demonstration for Johnson was begun. Again the aisles were choked with yelling delegates and again the state standards were swung over the crowd. Medill McCormick from the platform led cheers for Johnson. The musical director brought out his cornets and trombones and the convention sang "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."

After about fifteen minutes of noise Beveridge restored quiet and Judge Ben Lindsey, of Colorado, was recognized to second the nomination of Johnson. Lindsey, who had himself been mentioned for vice-president, was greeted with a long cheer. "Good sport!" shouted a delegate as Lindsey declared he had been for "Roosevelt and Johnson," and that he was still for them. As he closed Lindsey moved that the nomination of Johnson be made by acclamation.

Beveridge reserved the right to put the motion later and recognized C. S. Wheeler, of California, who, on behalf of that state, seconded the nomination of Johnson. He asserted that the state "freely, instinctively and proudly would give Johnson to the nation." After arguing that the east and the west would stand behind Roosevelt and Johnson, Wheeler concluded with the quotation:

GOLF IS WOODROW WILSON'S FAVORITE PASTIME





Photo by Brown Bros

WOODROW WILSON AT HIS SUMMER HOME, SEA GIRT, NEW JERSEY

"For there is neither east nor west,
 Border, nor breed nor birth,
 When two strong men stand face to face,
 Though they come from the ends of the earth."

A roar of applause followed Wheeler's conclusion, and James R. Garfield, of Ohio, rose to second Johnson's nomination. He lauded Johnson's activities in the Republican national convention and his work in California. Bainbridge Colby, of New York, followed Garfield. He said: "New York knows California's governor well. Never will be forgotten his striking service to honor and to truth in the last Republican convention. "New York carried home from those stirring scenes no impression more vivid than that of Hiram W. Johnson. I can see him now standing at the head of his fine delegation, every inch a fighting man, hurling clenched defiance at the officials and the ministers of theft in public office.

"Each time the name of California was called, it was Johnson who caught up the passionate resentment of the convention and gave it phrase. 'The state of California refuses to answer to the call of its name on a fraudulent roll,' 'the state of California refuses to sanction the invasion of a primary majority of 77,000 Republican voters by a fraudulent convention,' 'the state of California refuses to try the title to stolen property before the thief who stole it.'

"The cheers which greeted the mention of his name at this time seemed the continuation of the acclaim with which we hailed him then. New York honors itself in now seconding the nomination of Hiram W. Johnson."

"Two Dreadnoughts"

Former Representative Frederick Landis, of Indiana, next seconded Johnson's nomination. "The American nation," he said, "builds two dreadnoughts a year to guard American interests abroad. We to-day present to the American people two dreadnoughts to guard their interests at home." While Landis was speaking both Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson arrived at the convention hall, to be on hand to accept their nominations. Raymond Robbins, of Illinois, followed Landis. He spoke briefly. Gifford Pinchot, representing Pennsylvania, next seconded Johnson in a brief speech. He was roundly cheered when he appeared on the platform. Governor R. S. Vessey, of South Dakota, and William Flinn, of Pennsylvania, both also seconded Johnson. F. R. Gleed, a negro delegate from New York, seconded the nomination. He asserted the confidence of the negro race in the Progressive party, and in its leader, Roosevelt.

"We stand by the platform of this convention, by Colonel Roosevelt's letter, and by the candidates," he concluded.

Chairman Beveridge then put the motion of Judge Lindsey to nominate Johnson by acclamation. The motion was greeted with a roar of "ayes."

Johnson for Vice-President

"As permanent chairman of this convention," declared Beveridge, "I hereby declare Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, to be the candidate of this convention for president of the United States, and Hiram W. Johnson, of California, for vice-president."

The formal motions of thanks to officers of the convention were passed and Beveridge ordered the notification committees to bring in the candidates.

As Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson took their places side by side on the platform a demonstration began. The delegates leaped to their chairs and cheered. Colonel Roosevelt waved his hand to the crowd, but Johnson stood, evidently just a trifle ill at ease. Over the heads of the two candidates a huge banner was unfurled with the inscription:

"Roosevelt and Johnson,
New York and California,
Hands across the continent.
For there is neither east nor west,
Border nor breed nor birth.
When two strong men stand face to face
Though they come from the ends of the earth."

The band struck up "Maryland, My Maryland," and the delegates sang a parody called "Roosevelt." Then followed the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The demonstration lasted some ten minutes and when order was restored Beveridge introduced Roosevelt as "the next president of the United States."

Roosevelt, briefly, in simple, sincere words accepted the nomination and thanked the delegates.

When the cheers that greeted the close of Roosevelt's speech subsided Beveridge introduced Johnson. "It is with the greatest solemnity," he began, "that I come here to tell you that I enlisted for the war." A cheer interrupted him. He pledged himself to aid Roosevelt in the "fight for the common good," and concluded: "I had rather go down to defeat with Theodore Roosevelt than to victory with any other presidential candidate."

Ended with the Doxology

When Johnson finished Beveridge announced that the convention would end its session by singing the doxology and by listening to the benediction by the Rev. James Goodman. The delegates, standing in their places, joined in the chanting of the old Puritan hymn:

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow;
"Praise him, ye nations here below."

The rhythmic chant rose in a great volume from the thousands in the hall. As it died away the Rev. Mr. Goodman stepped forward and invoked the divine blessing.

Then Beveridge, stepping to the front of the platform, announced the adjournment of the convention "without day."

"And thus ends," he said, "one of the three most notable occasions in the country's history."

A cheer followed and then the crowd started for the exits.

A few moments later an empty convention hall, littered with torn paper, with state standards leaning at curious angles, marked the end of the first national convention of the Progressive party.

CHAPTER XLVII

Colonel Roosevelt's Speech of Acceptance

The closing scenes of the first national convention of the National Progressive party were unlike the scenes that have marked the closing of any national convention within the memory of living politicians of any party. Amid an ovation that was as striking and sincere as it was impressive, the two candidates were brought out on the platform to face the delegates and to deliver in their hearing, and with crowded galleries looking on, their pledges to fight manfully for the principles of and policies of this new party for which it is claimed that it will usher in a new dispensation in politics and in public life. Both nominees, but the Colonel especially, seemed deeply affected as they stood face to face with the men and women who are to shape the destinies of the new party, and who had selected them their standard-bearers to do "battle for the Lord." There was a suspicious tremor in the Colonel's voice as he acknowledged the nomination. Nor was it strange that he and his running mate should display such evidence of feeling. Wave upon wave of emotion swept over the audience as men and women joined in singing the stirring patriotic and partly religious airs which the band played.

Colonel Roosevelt in his speech of acceptance said:

"Mr. Chairman and men and women who in this convention represent the high and honest purpose of the people of all of our country, I come forward to thank you from my heart for the honor you have conferred upon me, and to say that of course I accept. I have been president, and I measure my words when I say—and I have seen and known much of life—I hold it by far the greatest honor and the greatest opportunity that has ever come to me to be called by you to the leadership for the time being of this great movement in the interests of the American people.

"And, friends, I wish now to say how deeply sensitive I am to the way in which the nomination has come to me, and to tell those who proposed and seconded my nomination that I appreciate to the full the significance of having such men and such a woman put me in nomination; and I wish to thank the convention for having given me the running mate it has given.

"I have a peculiar feeling toward Governor Johnson. Nearly two years ago, after the elections of 1910, when what I had striven to accomplish in New York had come to nothing, and when my friends, the enemy, exulted—possibly prematurely—over what had befallen me, Governor Johnson, in the flush of his own triumph, having just won out, wrote me a letter which I shall hand on to my children and children's children because of what the letter contained, and because of the man who wrote

it; a letter of trust and belief, a letter of ardent championship from the soldier who was at the moment victorious, toward his comrade who at the moment had been struck down.

"In Governor Johnson we have a man whose every word is made good by the deeds that he has done. The man who, as the head of a great state, has practically applied in that state for the benefit of the people of that state the principles which we intend to apply throughout the union as a whole. We have nominated the only type of man who ever ought to be nominated for the vice-presidency; we have nominated a man fit at the moment to be president of the United States.

"Friends, I have come here merely to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honor you have conferred upon me, and to say that I appreciate it exactly as I know you meant it. For the greatest chance, the greatest gift that can be given to any man is the opportunity, if he has the stuff in him, to do something that counts in the interests of the common good.

"I appreciate to the full the burden of responsibility, the burden of obligation that you have put upon me. I appreciate to the full that the trust you impose upon me can be met by me in one way, and that is by so carrying myself that you shall have no cause to regret or to feel shame for the action you have taken this afternoon.

"And, friends, with all my heart and soul, with every particle of high purpose that there is in me, I pledge you my word to do everything I can, to put every particle of courage, of common sense and of strength that I have at your disposal, and to endeavor so far as strength is given me to live up to the obligations you have put upon me, and to endeavor to carry out in the interests of our whole people the policies to which you have to-day solemnly dedicated yourselves to the millions of men and women for whom you speak. I thank you."

CHAPTER XLVIII

Platform of the Progressive Party

OLD PARTIES BLAMED FOR GOVERNMENT ILLS—RULE OF THE PEOPLE—WOMAN SUFFRAGE—RESTRICT POWER OF COURTS—INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE—CHILD LABOR—HIGH COST OF LIVING—SINISTER INFLUENCE IN BUSINESS—NATIONAL CURRENCY—NATURAL RESOURCES—GOOD ROADS MOVEMENT—WATERWAYS PLANS—PRESENT TARIFF UNJUST—INCOME TAX—THE IMMIGRANT—PARCELS POST—UNITED STATES AS A BUSINESS.

The Progressive party in convention adopted the following platform:

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party born of the nation's awakened sense of justice.

We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain that government of the people, by the people and for the people, whose foundations they laid.

We hold with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that the people are the masters of their Constitution to fulfill its purpose, and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice.

In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions and its laws should be utilized, maintained or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

Old Parties Blamed for Government Ills

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside.

Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare they have become the tools of corrupt interests, which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible governments sits enthroned

an invisible government, owing to allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time, have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

This declaration is our covenant with the people, and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in state and nation to the pledges made herein.

Rule of the People

The National Progressive party, committed to the principle of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several states and of the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government.

In particular, the party declares for strict primaries for the nomination of state and national officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency, for the direct election of United States senators by the people; and we urge on the states the policy of the short ballot with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum and recall.

The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution.

Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution if found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual states.

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several states should by unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the profit of their financial interests.

The extreme insistence on states' rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived, or to administer the affairs of a union of states which have in all essential respects become one people.

Woman Suffrage

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointees from holding office in state or national political organizations, or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective state or national officials.

Restrict Power of Courts

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

(1) That when an act, passed under the police power of the state, is held unconstitutional under the state constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the act to become law notwithstanding such decision.

(2) That every decision of the highest appellate court of a state declaring an act of the legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.

We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

Industrial Justice

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice.

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in state and nation for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents,

occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry.

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of state and nation, including the federal control over interstate commerce, and the taxing power, to maintain such standards:

Child Labor

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations.

The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons.

One day's rest in seven for all wage workers.

The eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries.

The abolition of the convict labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.

Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products.

We pledge our party to establish a department of labor, with a seat in the cabinet, and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living, and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country, and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter and food.

We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach.

High Cost of Living

The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local and partly to natural causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes. There will remain other elements, such as the tendency to leave the country for the city; waste, extravagance, bad system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops, and bad business methods in marketing crops.

To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and based on this information effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes.

We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the federal government dealing with the public health into a single national health service without discrimination against or for any set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine or school of healing, with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable disease as may be properly undertaken by the federal authorities, including the executing of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects, the promotion of appropriate action for the improvement of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics, and co-operation of the various states and cities of the nation.

Sinister Influence in Business

We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand, and so believing it is our purpose to obtain that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporate transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and special privilege, and by continuous trained watchfulness, guard and keep open equally to all the highways of American commerce. Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law, and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith; the investor will find security for his capital; dividends will be rendered more certain; and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

Under such a system of constructive regulation, legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

We favor strengthening the Sherman law by prohibiting agreements to divide territory or limit output, refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals; to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places; using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns, and other unfair trade practices.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a patent law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare in the interests of injurious monopolies.

We pledge our party to secure to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to value the physical property of railroads. In order that the power of the commission to protect the people may not be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the commerce court.

National Currency

We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present

method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The issue of currency is fundamentally a government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to effective public control.

The time has come when the federal government should co-operate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce.

To this end we demand adequate appropriations by Congress, and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth, and not in consideration of political expediency.

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. In every way possible our federal government should co-operate in this important matter. Germany's policy of co-operation between government and business has in comparatively few years made that nation a leading competitor for the commerce of the world.

Natural Resources

¶ The natural resources of the nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people's needs, but we cannot safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized, or controlled against the general good.

We heartily favor the policy of conservation and we pledge our party to protect the national forests without hindering their legitimate use for the benefit of all the people. Agricultural lands in the national forests are and should remain open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly without hindrance, rules or delays.

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water-powers, and other natural resources still in state or national control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the state or nation, and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water-power rights hereafter granted by the public. We pledge legislation to lease the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the actual home maker.

Natural resources whose conservation is necessary for the national welfare should be owned or controlled by the nation.

Good Roads Movement

We recognize the vital importance of good roads and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way and we favor the early construction of national highways. We also favor the extension of the rural free delivery service.

The coal and other natural resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States and are safe from monopoly, waste or destruction only while so owned.

We demand that they shall neither be sold nor given away except under the homestead law, but while held in government ownership shall be opened to use promptly upon liberal terms requiring immediate development.

Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific coast; the settlement of extensive agricultural land will be hastened; the extermination of the salmon will be prevented; and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly. We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction or improvement by the government of such railroads, harbor and other facilities for transportation as the welfare of the people may demand.

We promise the people of the territory of Alaska the same measure of local self-government that was given to other American territories, and that federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the territory.

Waterways Plans

The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic as parts of a great nation-wide system of transportation in which the Panama Canal will be the central link, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to be in touch with the Atlantic and Pacific seabards.

It is a national obligation to develop our rivers and especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water power and the prevention of floods.

We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan which should be made and carried out in close and friendly co-operation between the nation, the states and those affected. Under such a plan the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams which represent a vast, a needless loss to the nation, would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters, and by levees below; land sufficient to support millions of people would be reclaimed from the deserts and the swamps, water power enough to transform the industrial standings of whole states would be developed, adequate water terminals

would be provided, transportation by river would revive, and the railroads would be compelled to co-operate as freely with the boat lines as with each other.

The equipment, organization, and experience acquired in constructing the Panama Canal soon will be available for the lakes-to-the-gulf deep waterway and other portions of this great work, and should be utilized by the nation in co-operation with the various states, at the lowest net cost to the people.

The Panama Canal, built and paid for by the American people, must be used primarily for their benefit. We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the transcontinental railroads by maintaining sea competition with them, that ships directly or indirectly owned or controlled by American railroad corporations shall not be permitted to use the canal, and that American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pay no tolls.

The Progressive party will favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin American nations.

Present Tariff Unjust

We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living. Primarily the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserves protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific Tariff Commission, reporting both to the president and to either branch of Congress, which shall report, first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor and capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress; second, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government, and, thirdly, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen, and on the purchasing power of the consumer. We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information, and for this purpose to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing those schedules generally recognized as excessive.

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and

cannot again be trusted to keep, the promise of necessary downward revision. The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster. We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act.

Income Tax

We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a national means of equalizing the obligations of holders of property to government, and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a federal law as will tax large inheritances, returning to the states an equitable percentage of all amounts collected.

We favor the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution giving the government power to levy an income tax.

The Progressive party deplores the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations, with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.

We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces.

Pending such an agreement and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which discriminates between American citizens because of birthplace, race or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

The Immigrant

Through the establishment of industrial standards we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrant and to his native fellow-workers a larger share of American opportunity.

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to rigidly supervise all private agencies dealing with them, and to promote their assimilation, education and advancement.

We pledge ourselves to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers and sailors and their widows and children by the federal government.

And we approve the policy of the southern states in granting pensions to the ex-Confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children.

Parcels Post

We pledge our party to the immediate creation of a parcels post with rates proportionate to distance and service.

We condemn the violations of the civil service law under the present administration, including the coercion and assessment of subordinate employees, and the president's refusal to punish such violation after a finding of guilty by his own commission; his distribution of patronage among subservient congressmen, while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration measures; his withdrawal of nominations from the Senate until political support for himself was secured, and his open use of the offices to reward those who voted for his renomination.

To eradicate these abuses we demand not only the enforcement of the civil service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of an equitable retirement law, and we also insist upon continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

United States as a Business

We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the national government and a proper co-ordination of the federal bureaus, which will increase the economy and efficiency of the government service, prevent duplications and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year, through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage-earner and the men and women with small savings, have no means of knowing of the right of the concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We, therefore, demand wise, carefully-thought-out legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

On these principles and on the recognized desirability of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the progressive spirit and policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

CHAPTER XLIX

Theodore Roosevelt Progressive Candidate for President, 1912

COLONEL WATTERSON'S OPINION OF ROOSEVELT—HIS DELICATE YOUTH—GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS' CHARACTERIZATION—LEADER OF THE ROUGH RIDERS—HIS ADMINISTRATION AS PRESIDENT—TRIP TO AFRICA—THE “STRENUOUS LIFE.”

No man ever loomed bigger in the eyes of the American people than Theodore Roosevelt. He has been likened to Napoleon, and in many ways his career has been as remarkable as that of the great Corsican. He has, however, been a hero of peace and not of war. Aside from his few days of fighting in Cuba with the picturesque charge up San Juan Hill, his life has been one of struggle not “against principalities and powers” but against graft and dishonesty and “wickedness in high places”—a battle with politicians and law-making bodies for reform, a demand for equal rights for all men, a “square deal” for high and low, rich and poor alike.

And his name is known not only in the United States but in every civilized country. He has been one of the prime promoters of international peace, and kings and emperors have received and greeted him as a favored visitor—this modern American who stands for the rights of the masses against the classes.

Colonel Watterson's Opinion of Roosevelt

Even his political opponents recognize his power, his insight into present-day problems, his wonderful hold on the people. Long before a third term became the watchword of progressive thinkers, Colonel Watterson, the staunch old Democrat who has helped to make and unmake many political careers, said: “The time has come for the people of the United States to consider Theodore Roosevelt as they have never considered him before, to take him more seriously than they have ever taken him, to realize that he is altogether the most startling figure who has appeared in the world since Napoleon Bonaparte, a circumstance not without significance and portent. . . . If the government of the United States under our written constitution of checks and balances be a failure, as many think, and if there be need for its executive head of a strong man having the courage to take all the bulls of corruption by the

horns and, regardless of obsolete legal restraints, to shake the life out of them, then, indeed, Theodore Roosevelt would seem one fitted by temperament, education and training for the work."

In the light of what has happened the words seem like a prophecy. As one of his biographers says, "his career has been not so much a climb as a flight." He has made mistakes, it is true—every great man does—but whatever he has put his hands to he has done and done with all his might. He "means intensely and means good." Every step he has taken has been made the sure foundation for a new step.

Theodore Roosevelt comes from good old American stock, the family of the Roosevelts tracing their career on this continent to the days of the sturdy Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant. Klass Martenson Van Roosevelt, the first of the name in this country, landed in New Amsterdam in 1649. From that time on the family occupied a position of prominence in New York City, taking an active part in the war for independence, and later on becoming energetic and wealthy members of the community.

His Delicate Youth

Born in New York City, October 27, 1858, Theodore Roosevelt was given his father's name and inherited some of his father's characteristics, especially his love of outdoor life and his interest in the doings of the "common people." A thin, pale, delicate lad, weak and short-sighted, he did not seem a hopeful case for the building of a strong man. Indeed, to keep him from the rough play of the public schools, which he seemed unfit to bear, he was taught at home and in private schools. Yet the boy had under this pale exterior the inborn energy from which strong men are made. Determined to be the equal of his fellows, "to make a man of himself," as he has said, he took part in all sorts of boyish sports and exercises. He learned to swim, to row, to ride; he tramped over hill and dale. In this way the delicate child grew up to be a hardy boy and developed into a man with muscles of steel and indomitable vim and endurance.

Like many another of America's great men Theodore Roosevelt went to Harvard; and before taking his degree he had gone so far as to write a book—"The Moral History of 1812," the fairness of which led to an invitation to write the chapter on the War of 1812 for the monumental British work, "The Royal Navy."

Thus the public career of Colonel Roosevelt was opened. Thenceforth he was to advance steadily into the limelight. On leaving college he went abroad to get a glimpse of the world, but the following year he was back in New York. Engaging in legal study in the office of his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt, at the age of twenty-three, he at once took part in the political affairs of his district, and with such energy and effect that he was elected as a state representative before the year ended. It happened, as he tells us, in this way:

"After leaving college I went to the local political headquarters, attended all the meetings and took my part in whatever came up. There arose a revolt against the member of Assembly from that district, and I was nominated to succeed him and elected."

It was in the fall of 1881 that he was elected, and when he entered the State House at Albany in 1882 he was the youngest member of the Assembly. Yet he was full of ideas, overflowing with energy, and instead of keeping in the background, as such youthful legislators are expected to do, he soon made himself a storm-center in the House.

Beginning with a study of his colleagues, within two months he had classified them all, dividing them into two classes—the good and the bad. The former were decidedly in the minority, but the young Assemblyman lost no time in identifying himself with them, and this with such force and ability that he was soon their undisputed leader. There was corruption—abundance of it—deep and intrenched, corruption much of which had slept serene and undisturbed for years, and it was against this that he couched his lance.

Re-elected in 1883 and 1884 he continued his fight for clean government and became known as a leading supporter of civil service reform. He was chosen a delegate to the Republican State Convention of 1884, a delegate-at-large from New York and chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in June, 1884.

George William Curtis' Characterization

As to how he impressed his party at this time we have evidence in the words of George William Curtis, a fellow-delegate. He had his first meeting with Roosevelt during the heat of the strife and was surprised at his youthful appearance. This he said of him to a reporter:

"You'll know more, sir, later; a deal more, or I am much in error. Young? Why, he is just out of school almost, and yet he is a force to be reckoned with in New York. Later the nation will be criticising or praising him. While respectful to the gray hairs and experience of his elders, none of them can move him an iota from convictions as to men and measures once formed and rooted. He will not truckle nor cringe, he seems to court opposition to the point of being somewhat pugnacious. His political life will probably be a turbulent one, but he will be a figure, not a figurehead, in future development."

This year (1884) ended Roosevelt's legislative life. He left it for a long holiday in the West, where he had indulged his fancy for outdoor life by the purchase of Elk Horn and Chimney Butte ranches at Medora, North Dakota.

In the year he graduated he had married Miss Alice Lee of Boston. She died in 1883, leaving one daughter—now Mrs. Nicholas Longworth. In 1886 he married Miss Edith Kermit Carow, of New York City.

As Republican candidate for mayor of New York in 1886 he made a vigorous fight, but was defeated by Abram S. Hewitt. In 1889 he was appointed a member of the United States Civil Service Commission—an office which he held until the spring of 1895—when he resigned to enter the administration of Mayor Strong as police commissioner of New York. Two years later he was called again to Washington to become assistant secretary of the navy under President McKinley.

Leader of the Rough Riders

War having been declared with Spain in April of 1898, Roosevelt resigned and in a few months had recruited the United States Volunteer Cavalry, better known as the "Rough Riders." Every war has its popular hero and the end of the brief but effective Cuban war, left Colonel Roosevelt as the popular hero.

That a man of such sudden and great popularity would be allowed to sink back into insignificance was very unlikely to follow. The American people likes to reward its heroes, the canvass for a new governor of New York was in the air, and Theodore Roosevelt was the man of the moment. His services in the war had scarcely ended before the nomination came.

He took a personal part in his own campaign. It is not the Roosevelt way to be silent and wait while events are in the air. Outspoken advocacy of everything in which he is interested is his way, and he took the stump in his own cause, speaking in many parts of the state. That these speeches were characterized by fire, force and directness we need not say. They had also that common sense and practical application to the situation which are among his characteristics.

For a just criticism of what he did in the governor's chair we quote from Dr. Albert Shaw, the clear-headed editor of the *Review of Reviews*. He thus characterized the Roosevelt administration:

"He found the state administration thoroughly political; he left it business-like and efficient. He kept thrice over every promise that he made to the people in his canvass. Mr. Roosevelt so elevated and improved the whole tone of the state administration and so effectually educated his party and public opinion generally, that future governors will find easy what was before almost impossible."

The work thus begun Colonel Roosevelt had hoped to carry further in a second term; but at the Republican National Convention in June, 1900, he was forced, much against his will, to accept the nomination for vice-president.

His Administration as President

Everybody knows how that election turned out, and how in the fall of the same year the awful tragedy of President McKinley's death forced Theodore Roosevelt to become the nation's head. He was the youngest man ever in the presidential chair, and the seriousness of the responsibility was keenly felt. His first act as president was to reappoint the entire cabinet as it then stood, and in his first message to Congress he announced that he would carry out absolutely the administrative policy of President McKinley.

Many of the achievements of this first term are matters of history. For example, in 1902 the miners in the great anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania went on strike. In spite of the lack of any precedents to guide him in such a course, President Roosevelt called together the leading representatives of the mine-owners and the miners, and with their joint aid organized a board of arbitration who adjusted the pending differences

on a basis so satisfactory that mining was promptly resumed. In the Venezuela difficulties of 1902-3, when the leading powers of Western Europe insisted upon a financial reckoning with the debtor republic, he succeeded in bringing all the disputants to an understanding which spared the Monroe Doctrine a test at arms, and sent the controversy to the international tribunal at The Hague for settlement.

Re-elected by a popular plurality of about two and a half million votes, President Roosevelt continued his program of "doing things." To the first session of Congress he proposed a number of radical measures, most of which actually became laws. The measures included acts for the control of railroad rates, for a more rigid inspection of meat products, for the punishment of adulteration of food, for the removal of the tax on denatured alcohol for use in the arts, for the organic reform of the consular service, and for the admission of Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico as states.

The most notable achievement of his career, however, was the bringing to a close, with no official authority as arbitrator, the Russo-Japanese war. For this he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. In the revolutionary outbreak in Cuba he was also active in the causes of peace, sending thither an "army of pacification" and installing a provisional governor.

The secession of Panama from the Columbian confederation in 1903 opened the way for the assumption by the United States of the construction of the Panama Canal. The recognition of the seceding states and the negotiation of the treaty that followed called forth severe criticism from the anti-administration leaders; but the work proceeded and the president himself visited the isthmus in 1906.

Trip to Africa

Before the expiration of his term President Roosevelt had planned a hunting expedition to Africa. He accordingly sailed from New York in March 23, 1909, bound for Mombasa, British East Africa. His party included his son Kermit and a small group of naturalists. They landed on April 21st and after many adventures emerged at Khartum on March 14th of the following year. Here Mr. Roosevelt was joined by the women of his family, with whom he traveled in the most remarkable journey ever made by a private citizen of a republic—through Egypt, Italy, Austria, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Germany and England. At every point he was a national guest, and in the course of his progress he made a number of speeches and lectures.

His return to New York on June 18, 1910, was celebrated almost as a national event; but the ex-president retired to his home at Oyster Bay, announcing his intention of not mingling for the time being in public affairs. He was, however, soon drawn into the arena. The campaign previous to the general elections of November was on, and Mr. Roosevelt found himself in the thick of the fight. The result of the elections was adverse to the Republicans, including the defeat of Mr. Stimson, the

Colonel's chosen candidate for governor of New York. The defeat may have been simply a part of the general Democratic reaction; it may have been due to some alarm caused by Mr. Roosevelt's advocacy of a larger substitution of national for state authority.

A third term as president had been variously rumored. Of course no president had ever served three terms and Washington had set the example of refusing; but Roosevelt had been elected *as president* only once, and there was no law to prevent a third term, anyway, if he himself would consider it. He was the people's hero and in the vexing political situation he seemed to many the man best fitted to bring order out of chaos.

With his finger on the public pulse, Mr. Roosevelt watched the progress of events and waited. He knew the unrest of the working classes and the people knew him. The governors of seven different states petitioned him to consider a third term. The people needed a leader and the leader arose.

The "Strenuous Life"

We have told some of the things for which President Roosevelt has stood sponsor. They were not all. His activity has been enormous. He has not only stood for the best things, but he has worked and fought for them, and in some instances has stood the test of making powerful enemies in order to secure them. The faculty of persistence in him is strongly developed. The word "strenuous," which he has bound up with his own name, aptly illustrates his character. His is a true example of the "strenuous life." There was always "something doing" while he was president, and always will be while he breathes the breath of life. The Roosevelt doctrine of a "square deal," the enforcement of the laws and statutes of the United States, and the upholding of the dignity and integrity of the nation were ever the keynotes of his administration.

CHAPTER L

Hiram W. Johnson

Progressive Candidate for Vice-President, 1912

"Kicking the Southern Pacific out of politics" was the task which Hiram W. Johnson and the progressive Republicans of California set for themselves in the great fall election of 1910. They were playing for big stakes and they won.

The state had long been owned, operated and looted by the Southern Pacific Railroad, and a great body of thoughtful, earnest people in California had come to believe that by a more directly popular government a good many of the wrongs could be righted. A complicated system of representative government, so-called, permitted control of nominations of all elective officers by the use of money and the concentration of influence. Practically all positions—executive, legislative and judicial—were filled by tools of the great railroad—the "Octopus" of California. The people had absolutely no voice: they could not even secure the laws they wanted. When any of the fighting minority did happen to get into office they were usually met with a "railroad recall" at the next election.

Every candidate for office, every legislative measure, was passed upon by William F. Herrin, counsel for the Southern Pacific. The situation became more and more tense.

The San Francisco graft cases were the last straw, and it was in his capacity of prosecuting attorney in the ensuing trials that Hiram W. Johnson leaped into prominence. As a culmination of piffling court decisions, perjury, jury-bribing, dynamiting, and kidnapping, aimed to clear the guilty, Frank Heney was shot in the court-room, and Hiram Johnson took his place and landed Ruef, tool of the Southern Pacific Railroad and the affiliated villainies, for a term of fourteen years in the penitentiary.

As a result of the state-wide prominence thus gained, Johnson was selected by the progressive element of the Republican party to lead a forlorn hope for the redemption of California. He could ill afford the commission, for it meant great loss to a growing law practice, and an apparently unjustifiable expenditure of time and money. The appeal to his patriotism, however, carried the day, and he did not "resist the draft."

He was known throughout the state as a man of enormous strength of character, combining iron power of will with great personal charm. No one—except the friends of the railroad—worried over what would happen if Johnson got the election; he was not a man who could be "won over." He was the friend of the public, and the public knew their man.

Of course the primary contest called for vigor; but Mr. Johnson was equal to the occasion and carried off the nomination. Then came a three-months' campaign for election. The whole power of the "gang" was thrown to his Democratic opponent and the fight was a bitter one, but election day found Johnson the victor.

He had hardly been elected before he was besieged by politicians, by "business men," and by friends to retain in office many of those who had participated in the old order of things. He had but one reply to make, "They must go," and they went.

When the legislature met, there was great question as to the program it should adopt. There had been a preliminary meeting held to which the progressive senators had been invited. The governor and lieutenant-governor met with them, and together they outlined a course of procedure.

Then the legislature assembled, and Governor Johnson delivered his inaugural address. This was a clear-cut outline of his views of the needs of the state, and the opening sentence sounded a bold note:

"In some form or other nearly every governmental problem that involves the health, the happiness, or the prosperity of the state has arisen because some private interest has intervened or has sought for its own gain to exploit either the resources or the politics of the state. I take it, therefore, that the first duty that is mine to perform is to eliminate every private interest from the government, and to make the public service of the state responsive solely to the people."

There was the spirit of the man. And he immediately set about doing his "full duty"—carrying out his program of ousting not only the Southern Pacific but all other big business out of the government of the state. The citizens rallied to his support and many efficient men were raised to fill the positions of the politicians who had been the tools of the Interests. Nor did Governor Johnson confine his appointments to members of the Republican party: he was looking for integrity and public spirit, irrespective of political standing.

Among the bills passed by the legislature were those to provide effective regulation of public utilities; the Oregon plan for electing United States senators; the amendment to the direct primary law; the Australian ballot; the short ballot; a judiciary selected at the primaries as non-partisan and elected as non-partisan; home rule for counties; conservation legislation; prison reform, beginning with a reformatory for first offenders, and providing, in the face of opposition at first made by union labor but subsequently abandoned, for the manufacture in the prisons of any articles used by the public institutions of the state; amendments and improvements to the Employers' Liability Act; and an eight-hour law for women.

The legislature further propounded amendments to the state constitution embodying initiative, referendum, and recall, the strengthening of the powers of the railway commission, and woman's suffrage. That the arguments of the advocates of these amendments carried weight may be judged by the result of the election. The whole country awoke to the

realization that California was doing things. Even woman suffrage carried.

After the referendum election there was no respite in the executive office. It was necessary to call a special session to pass supplementary legislation connected with some previous legislation and with the constitutional amendments. The question came up as to whether in this call there should be a request for a presidential primary. Under the defective primary law which the old machine inadvertently passed, it was provided that the county committeemen elected in 1910 should select delegates to the presidential conventions, with the obvious intention of perpetuating machine control and having the delegates selected so long before the event that they could be used for trading purposes. It was never contemplated that the political power might be seized by the Progressives, but this was the event.

Those Progressives who favored Senator La Follette found themselves able to appoint the delegation to the National Convention, and had it not been for the extra session, the delegation would have been chosen accordingly. It was optional with the governor whether the new Republican organization should take advantage of the situation or whether he by voluntary act should endeavor to return to the people a power that ought to rest with them. The governor had no doubt in his own mind about the course that should be pursued or the course he was going to pursue. With his mind already made up, he consulted with Senator La Follette and with others in the progressive movement, and, strengthened in his own opinion, he inserted in the call a request for a presidential primary, thereby clearly showing the difference between real leadership in the popular interest and boss rule and machine control. If the Republicans of California desired the re-nomination of President Taft, then could say so, by grace of a governor who believes in popular government.

Governor Johnson had thus clearly taken his stand for the Progressive party, not yet formed, but "in the air." He was present at the Chicago National Convention; supported Roosevelt in his denunciation of the Republican party and its methods, and although at first there was little talk of the choice for vice-president of the new third party, many of Governor Johnson's friends predicted that he would have the nomination. So the choice fell.

CHAPTER LI

The Socialist Convention, Platform and Candidates

WHAT THE WORKERS ASK—PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION—PLATFORM—COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP—INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS—POLITICAL DEMANDS—THE CANDIDATES, DEBS AND SEIDEL.

For years the Socialist party has been struggling and growing. In the face of opposition and ridicule it has held its ground and won some important local victories.

The convention of 1912 had its features of excitement quite in keeping with the convention spirit of the year; the bone of contention being the question of recognizing the Industrial Workers of the World. The party, earnest and enthusiastic as ever, convened on Sunday, May 12th.

The convention spirit was present and with business-like rapidity, the delegates went to work. One of the most important matters which was to come before the convention, and which evoked widespread preliminary discussion, was the attitude of the party toward the Industrial Workers of the World.

“Conservative Socialists will demand that the convention go on record as denouncing the methods of the Industrial Workers,” said Congressman Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, a member of the executive committee. “Ten to one the delegates are opposed to ‘direct action’ and other violent principles of the Industrial Workers. The Socialist party cannot afford to continue to be embroiled with this riotous organization. There has been too much of this on the Pacific coast and elsewhere.”

What the Workers Ask

William D. Haywood, a member of the Socialists’ executive committee and a leader of the Industrial Workers, said he expected criticism of the organization on the floor of the convention. “But we are asking nothing from the Socialists except approval of the unit form of national organization of labor,” he said. “We believe in militant methods and many delegates in this convention are with us.”

The convention was called to order by John M. Work, of Chicago, national secretary, and Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected chairman. He told the convention that since the party was formed in Indianapolis eleven years ago, it had grown from 10,000 members, paying dues,

to 150,000 and that the voting strength had increased from 100,000 to 600,000.

The session was consumed in perfecting the organization of the convention.

Proceedings of the Convention

The chief item of business before the convention in Monday's session was the adoption of the platform and the choice of the committees. There was a spirited contest for the control of these committees, which was won by the antagonists to a platform declaration approving the unit form of labor organizations, represented by the Industrial Workers, as opposed to the crafts plan of the American Federation of Labor.

Tuesday's session of the convention was occupied by a prolonged debate on the question of whether the commission form of municipal government was in accord with the Socialist program. The argument for those favorable to the commission plan was summed up by J. Stitt Wilson, mayor of Berkeley, Cal., who declared that Socialists in California had found the nonpartisan method of electing members of commissions had scattered the vote of "capitalist" parties and worked to the advantage of the cohesive Socialist party. The subject was eventually referred to the state organizations.

The convention resumed the transaction of its business on Thursday. When the majority report of the committee on labor organizations was read, advising a neutral position, friends of the Industrial Workers of the World, who had planned to obtain recognition of the organization, were surprised to learn that their three friends on the committee, instead of making a minority report, had affixed their names to the only report submitted. With the full committee in favor, the report was adopted.

After adopting the platform on Friday the convention proceeded to the nominations for president. The names placed before the delegates were Eugene V. Debs, of Terra Haute, Ind., Emil Seidel, of Milwaukee, and Charles Edward Russell, of New York. After the result of the first ballot, which was Debs, 165; Seidel, 56, and Russell, 54, had been given out, the nomination was made unanimous. The choice of the convention fell on Emil Seidel for vice-president.

The platform adopted by the convention is as follows:

"The representatives of the Socialist party, in national convention at Indianapolis, declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

"Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of plutocracy, which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the union.

"In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry, which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

"Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

"The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges.

"Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

"It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

"Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives."

The platform then denounces the conduct of the Republican and Democratic parties and the courts toward labor.

"We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

"Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

"The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

"The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest."

The platform then sets forth the reasons why the workingman must look to the Socialistic party for the improvement of his conditions, and continues:

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Collective Ownership

"1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

"2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

"3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

"4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

 "(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

 "(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

 "(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

 "(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

 "(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

"5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

"6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

"The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands

"The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

"1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

"2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

"3. By securing a more effective inspection of work shops, factories and mines.

"4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

"5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.

"6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

"7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

"8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

"9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands

"1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

"2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

"3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

"4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

"5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

"6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the president.

"7. The election of the president and the vice-president by direct vote of the people.

"8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

"9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the Constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in the country.

"10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

"11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

"12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

"13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

"14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

"15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

"16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

"17. The free administration of the law.

"18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the Constitution of the United States.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

Eugene V. Debs

Socialist Candidate for President, 1912

For the third time Eugene V. Debs is the candidate for president. The nomination shows that the party has confidence in its leader. Many tributes have been paid to the eloquence, power and charm of this man to whom the cause of the people is as dear as ever it was to Lincoln. The poet Eugene Field said: "If Debs were a priest, the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile of his would soften the hardest heart."

Mr. Debs is now fifty-five years of age, and has behind him a long career filled with interest in the cause of labor and socialism.

He was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, and has always lived there. He was educated in the common schools and in 1871 became locomotive fireman in the Terre Haute and Indianapolis railroad. He had ambition and spirit and he did not stand still. He was in the wholesale grocery house of Hulman & Co., from 1875 to 1879, and was city clerk for the following four years. In 1885 he married Katherine Metzel. In the same year he was a member of the Indiana legislature; in 1897-98 he was chairman of the National Council of the Social Democratic party.

Besides these activities Mr. Debs was grand secretary and treasurer

of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen from 1880 to 1893, and president of the American Railway Union from 1893 to 1897. In the latter office he won a large strike on the Great Northern Railway. While managing a still larger strike on western roads in 1894 he was charged with conspiracy. He was, however, acquitted. Then he was charged with violation of an injunction and sent to jail for six months for contempt of court.

Since that time Mr. Debs has devoted his time to lecturing and to the organization of his party. He is a terse and nervous speaker, eager, insistent, enthusiastic, holding his audience both by the force of what he says and by the way he says it.

In 1900 the Social Democratic party placed Debs as the presidential nominee, with Job Harriman as vice-presidential nominee of the Socialist Labor party. Again, in the 1904 presidential campaign Debs, with Ben Hanford, were the Socialist nominees. Again, in 1908, the convention chose Debs and Hanford as the standard bearers of the Socialist party.

Since the 1908 campaign Debs has been on the editorial staff of the *Appeal to Reason*, spending a large portion of his time on its lecture bureau.

Emil Seidel

Socialist Candidate for Vice-President, 1912

Emil Seidel is a Socialist who has actually been in office—not just “theorizing,” but “doing things.” In an interesting article on *What We Have Done in Milwaukee*, he said: “One thing has been proven conclusively—that the Socialist administration is honest. While this is the least that a Socialist boasts of, there are thousands of cities that cannot make the same claim.”

Born in Ashland, Pa., in 1864, Emil Seidel attended the common schools until he was thirteen. Then he studied wood carving in Germany for some eight years. In 1894 he married Miss Lucy Geissel of Milwaukee. He was an assistant in the German exhibit of the Chicago Exposition in 1893, was one of the organizers of the Wood Carvers’ Union, and founder of the Socialist party organization at Milwaukee. He was Socialist candidate for governor of Wisconsin in 1902; alderman for the 20th ward, 1904-08, declining renomination; was elected alderman-at-large in 1909 and mayor in 1910.

Under his leadership many important municipal reforms were brought about. The opposition, however, was strong, and the abuses of many years could not be corrected in a day. Mayor Seidel was not re-elected, but as he said, the administration was “honest,” and there was a big saving in the municipal housekeeping. For instance, the change from a four-member board of public works to a single commissioner reduced the cost of asphalt pavement from \$2.30 to \$2.40 per square yard to \$1.26 to \$1.35. The wages of the street laborers were raised from \$1.75 to \$2.00. Wherever possible the administration aided workers in their fight to maintain a higher standard of living.

In his own defense he says:

“The claim has been made by the capitalist press that the Social

Democrats have not carried out all of their platform pledges. Any platform that can be carried into effect in two years does not amount to much. The city is hampered by legal restrictions which stifle the best work. Nor is ever **an** opportunity missed to use this against the administration. However, the city has made an honest attempt to get enabling legislation by presenting about forty bills to the legislature, asking for home rule and the power to carry out some of these pledges. Some were passed, others emasculated, the rest killed."



Eugene V. Debs*

Candidate of the Socialist Party for the Presidency in 1904, 1908 and 1912



Photo by the National News Association

Emil Seidel

Ex-Mayor of Milwaukee, for Vice-President

THE CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY



CAMPAGN SPEECH-MAKING IN EARLIER DAYS

When General William Henry Harrison was a candidate for the Presidency great open-air meetings were held, where many oxen were roasted and eaten, speeches were made and processions marched with banners inscribed "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."



Eugene W. Chaffin

Nominated for President

Aaron S. Watkins

Nominated for Vice-President



THE CANDIDATES OF THE PROHITION PARTY



GOVERNORS AND EX-GOVERNORS AT SPRING LAKE, N. J., SEPTEMBER 13, 1911. (Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.)

Front Row, left to right:—Edwin L. Norris, Montana, Marion E. Hay, Washington, William W. Kitchin, North Carolina, Lee Cruce, Oklahoma, Edwin P. Noel, Mississippi (Ex-Gov.), Judson Harmon, Ohio, Woodrow Wilson, New Jersey, John K. Tener, Pennsylvania, Aram J. Pothier, Rhode Island, William E. Glasscock, West Virginia. Second row, left to right: Joseph M. Carey, Wyoming, Albert W. Gilchrist, Florida, Frederick W. Plaisted, Maine, Chester H. Aldrich, Nebraska, (Ex-Gov.) Augustus E. Wilson, Kentucky, Herbert S. Hadley, Missouri, (Ex-Gov.) August L. Crothers, Maryland, William H. Mann, Virginia, Hoke Smith (now Senator), Georgia, John F. Shafroth, Colorado. Third row, left to right:—William Spry, Utah, Francis C. McGovern, Wisconsin, Eugene N. Poss, Massachusetts, James B. Hawley, Idaho, Walter R. Scott, Kansas, Robert S. Vessie, South Dakota. Fourth row, left to right:—W. F. Saurier, Jr., George Jordan, Ex-Gov. (name illegible), Vermont, Ex-Gov. (name illegible), Port

CHAPTER LII

The Prohibition Convention, Platform and Candidates

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC—OTHER ISSUES—THE RECALL—SUFFRAGE—THE PROHIBITION CONVENTION—THE ATTITUDE OF OTHER PARTIES—THE PLATFORM—CHAFIN AND WATKINS THE CANDIDATES.

The position which the Prohibition party takes with regard to questions of national government is well illustrated in the speech made by Eugene W. Chafin, the Prohibition candidate for president, at his former home in Waukesha, Wis., on August 10th, in accepting his nomination. On that occasion Mr. Chafin said:

The Liquor Traffic

The master method of destroying the world's greatest plague is well defined in this prohibition platform. The liquor traffic is *wrong*. It produces crime, poverty and political corruption and spreads disease and death. All laws taxing or licensing such a traffic should be repealed. How shall we establish these facts in government and repeal these laws and have prohibition? There is but one way. All other methods have been tried and failed. Our platform says: "To destroy such a traffic, there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the drink is a *crime* and not a *business*." That is the *master method of the great reform*. And if all voters who are with us agreed that the liquor traffic ought to die will use our methods to kill it, the Prohibition ticket will be elected on November 5, 1912. This is the only chance you will have in the next four years to strike it a death blow. If this awful crime continues four years longer it will be by the consent and vote of citizens who claim to be against it, but refuse to use the only method there is to exterminate it. There is but one place to get together where we can destroy the liquor traffic and that is at the ballot box on election day. Will you meet us there?

The platform well says that the liquor traffic "is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation." It takes considerably more than a hundred million bushels of grain each year to make liquor for the United States. Nearly a million men are engaged in making and distributing liquor. They support families of four millions more. To start with, we have here an army of five millions of non-producers—all consumers of food, clothing and shelter, the necessities of life. As a

result of this traffic, more than two hundred thousand men are in jails and penitentiaries. All consumers and non-producers. Then add to this army, court officials, policemen, employees and attendants of poor-houses, jails, penitentiaries, insane and other hospitals for the dependent classes caused by the liquor traffic and you will have an army of nearly ten millions who consume and do not produce any of the necessities of life. Herein lies the cause of the high cost of living. Destroy the liquor traffic —let those ten millions of consumers become producers and the problem is solved and there is *no other solution*. Charging it to the tariff and like legislation is mere buncombe. The liquor problem is the greatest economic problem the world has ever faced. The solution of the labor and capital question is bound up in it. For the leaders of all other parties to ignore this great question in order to get the liquor vote is a travesty on the word "statesman." And especially is this true when they call themselves "progressive." Where have they "progressed" from? And where are they "progressing" to?

Other Issues

"The complete suppression of the traffic in girls" is the language of our platform. We are the only political party this year, or any other year, which has dared to make such a declaration. Why? Because it is a part of the liquor traffic system. Neither the present nor former president has in the past ten years dared to enforce the law of Congress in the District of Columbia against this awful crime, though it has been carried on almost in sight of the White House, the Capitol and in the shadow of the Washington Monument. Neither dares to-day to announce to the American people that if again entrusted with the office of president, he will enforce this law, notwithstanding the president takes an oath of office and the Constitution says "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." It says nothing about making the law a dead letter in order to get the liquor vote. And one of these gentlemen pretends to be a progressive and a reformer!

The platform favors, "The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration." Why should not America lead the world on this subject. Let us show our intentions and good faith by establishing a Department of Peace and have at the head of it a Secretary of Peace.

Our position on the tariff question cannot be better stated than to quote in full the plank on that subject, which says: "As the tariff is a commercial question it should be fixed on the scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent, omni-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers."

It is often asked: How will you run the government when the rum revenue is abolished? Our platform answers the question in the following plank: "Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes." We are the only great nation in the world which has not adopted these most just methods of taxation. Under our present system the rich pay little or nothing toward the support of the national government, while

the poor are robbed by all kinds of indirect taxes through internal revenue and tariff laws. A large part of the two hundred million dollars of rum revenue each year, is filched and stolen from the wives and children of drunkards, by our national government. This is surely "women and children first"—millionaires last when it comes to paying taxes.

The Recall

Another plank favors, "the initiative, referendum and recall." The only issue herein at stake is whether we shall have laws making it easy for the people to govern themselves or hard and impossible for them to do so. All of the principles involved therein are as old as the republic. The Continental Congress took the "initiative" in founding this nation when it passed the Declaration of Independence. The Revolutionary War was the "referendum" and the "recall" came soon after Yorktown—even to the last English judge. Indeed, the recall was put into operation much earlier. On July 4, 1776, but three of the delegates from Pennsylvania would sign the Declaration of Independence—Franklin, Morton and Wilson. On July 20th, the Convention of Pennsylvania recalled the entire delegation, re-appointed the three who had signed, Morris, who had not been present and five new ones, to wit: Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor and Ross, who afterward signed it.

The recall was afterward put into operation by Article 5 of the Articles of Confederation, which reads as follows: "For more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year and send others in their stead for the remainder of the year."

From Washington's administration to the present time, the federal judges for the territories have been subject to recall and nearly every president has exercised that power.

The administration of the criminal law is based upon three fundamental principles. The complaint is the "initiative," the trial judge and the jury, the "referendum," and after the judgment is confirmed by the Supreme Court, the executive power may "recall" the verdict, judgment and decision by granting a pardon. The president has frequently "recalled" the decisions of the Supreme Court, opened the doors of the penitentiary and let prominent and influential criminals go home. Our contention is that these great fundamental principles shall be extended to every branch of government where practicable in order that the people may become masters and not slaves of the republic.

Suffrage

Our party has declared for equal suffrage for men and women since its first presidential nominating convention in 1872. We have been a most potent factor in aiding that reform. The old parties may declare

for it as soon as it is granted in a majority of the states. We are glad to have them follow—we are sorry they are so slow.

After the Prohibition party had advocated the election of senators by direct vote of the people for forty years, both the old parties joined in submitting to the states an amendment to the Constitution granting it. It will undoubtedly be ratified in some form and will mark the beginning of the people's rule in the senate. More than one-third of the senators are to-day misrepresenting rather than representing their states.

The Prohibition Convention

The eleventh national convention of the Prohibition party, which nominated Mr. Chafin, met in Atlantic City, N. J., on Wednesday, July 10th. Something like nine hundred delegates were in actual attendance. The sessions were held in the auditorium, on the famous Steel Pier, situated well out over the ocean.

The same germ of unrest which has permeated all political parties this year was in the Prohibition ranks. It appeared everywhere in the transactions. There were storms and tense situations a-plenty. The convention began with a fierce fight in the national committee and closed with a song of triumph in the same body. It was more like a political convention than some conventions that have preceded it.

The feature of the first session was the address of the temporary chairman of the convention, Clinton N. Howard, of Rochester, N. Y., known as "the little giant." Mr. Howard aroused the delegates to a high pitch of enthusiasm by roundly denouncing President Taft, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican and Democratic parties in general. He claimed that the Prohibitionists were the real progressives in politics, and decried any attempt to throw their votes into other channels.

"We already have two whisky parties and don't need another," he shouted. The delegates caught up and cheered the sentiments of the chairman. When he characterized President Taft as a "wet nurse to the saloons" there were shouts of "Amen!" from all corners of the convention hall. When he denounced Colonel Roosevelt as "the least desirable of all the candidates," there was a prolonged demonstration of approval. Governor Woodrow Wilson he disposed of with this faint praise: "A good man, perhaps, but we have had 'good men' in the White House before and they have gone out with the country more saturated with rum than it was when they went in."

"Now you are talking truth," called a delegate amid general acclaim.

"No other president since the foundation of this government," declared Mr. Howard, "has surrendered more abjectly to the liquor interest of this nation than has William Howard Taft. His record is too recent, familiar and odiferous to require review in this intelligent presence."

The Attitude of Other Parties

Mr. Howard said it would be a criminal waste of time to argue that the liquor traffic could be stamped out through the Republican party

' by its silent platform, its present unworthy leadership, its long consistent liquor record and its present monopoly-nurtured candidate, who obtained his nomination at the hands of a convention which Theodore Roosevelt declares 'represents nothing but successful political fraud perpetrated in the interest of political and financial privilege,' and who more than any of his predecessors has become the wet nurse for the saloon.

"And what better results can be expected from the Democratic party? Not only as little, but less than nothing at all.

"Exactly the same influences that poisoned the Republican party at Chicago were in control at Baltimore.

"It may be said in truth that the splendid Woodrow Wilson was not Mr. Murphy's choice, but the campaign banner, decorated with his picture, was flung to the breeze in front of Tammany Hall one-half hour after his nomination, on the order of Charlie Murphy, by long distance telephone, and the candidate has since sent his regrets that a prior engagement prevented his presence at the Tammany Fourth of July."

The temporary chairman said that while Governor Wilson was known as a "good man" the Prohibitionists "are not here to elect a good man, but to kill the liquor traffic." McKinley and Harrison were "good men" in the White House, he added, "but they went out of office with the country more saturated with rum than when they went in."

After severely criticising the Democratic House of Representatives for its failure to enact legislation prohibiting the shipment of liquor into prohibition territory in the south, Chairman Howard turned his guns upon Colonel Roosevelt.

"How about the promised progressive Roosevelt party?" he asked. "We already have two whisky parties and do not need another. From the standpoint of the Prohibitionist, by his record, public utterances and confessed personal habits, he is the least desirable of them all.

"Posing as the 'Thou shalt not steal' candidate because his partisans were not preferred over President Taft's in the convention, he brazenly boasts that he stole the Isthmus of Panama from Colombia and 'let Congress debate it afterward.'

"If the Chicago convention played the same trick they got the cue from him. His title to the Panama strip was as good as the stolen Taft credentials in the hands of boss-made delegates, and no better.

"Stealing is stealing, Mr. Roosevelt. When you taught that the end justified the means, you gave every thief a passport to heaven."

Mr. Howard referred by name to the various "bosses" at the two old party conventions, concluding with this sally:

"And to think of Billy Flinn, the vice protector and promoter of Pittsburgh, and Timothy Woodruff, of Brooklyn, masquerading as Roosevelt 'progressives!' What hope is there for reform in America at such unclean hands? Absolutely none."

The speaker predicted that the Prohibition party was certain of ultimate success and, informally declaring the convention ready to transact business, urged that "all things be done decently and in order."

Charles H. Meade, of New Jersey, was chosen permanent chairman.

Doctor Meade, a delegate to every Prohibition convention since 1876, was chosen by the committee on permanent organization as a representative of the insurgent element in the party. Samuel Dickie, president of Albion College, who had first been suggested for permanent chairman, withdrew in the interest of harmony.

J. D. Redd, of Kentucky, presented the report of the committee on credentials, declaring that there was not a contest nor a stolen certificate anywhere in the convention.*

Thursday's session was largely consumed in a struggle over the election of a national chairman which resulted in the overthrow of the existing administration and the election of Virgil G. Hinshaw, of Portland, Ore., as national chairman of the party. Mr. Hinshaw, the new national chairman of the party, was a compromise selection as between Charles R. Jones, of Illinois, the present chairman, and W. G. Calderwood, of Minnesota, the leading insurgent candidate for the office.

The Platform

The platform as adopted follows:

The Prohibition party of the United States of America, in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 11, 1912, recognizing God as the source of all governmental authority, makes the following declaration of principles:

The alcoholic drink traffic is wrong, the most serious drain upon the nation's wealth and resources, detrimental to the general welfare, destructive of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and, therefore, all laws taxing or licensing a traffic that produces crime, poverty and political corruption and spreads disease and death should be repealed. To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the alcoholic drink traffic is a crime and not a business, and we pledge that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited.

We favor:

The election of United States senators by direct vote of the people.

Presidential terms of six years, and one term only.

Uniform marriage and divorce laws.

The extermination of polygamy and the complete suppression of the traffic in girls.

Suffrage for women upon the same terms as to men.

Court review as to post-office and other department decisions and orders.

Establishment of postal savings banks, extension of the rural delivery and the establishment of an efficient parcels post.

The absolute protection of the rights of labor without impairment of the rights of capital.

The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

The initiative, referendum and recall.

The tariff is a commercial question and should be fixed on the basis

of accurate knowledge secured by a permanent non-partisan tariff commission with ample powers.

The abolition of child labor in the mines, workshops and factories, with the rigid enforcement of laws now flagrantly violated.

Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

Conservation of our mineral and forest reserves, reclamation of arid and waste lands, and we urge that all mineral and timber lands and water powers now owned by the government be held perpetually and leased for revenue purposes.

Clearly defined laws for the regulation and control of corporations transacting an interstate business.

Greater efficiency and economy in government service.

The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest.

To these fundamental principles the national Prohibition party renews its long allegiance and on these issues invites the co-operation of all citizens to the end that the true objects of popular government may be attained, *i. e.*, equal and exact justice to all.

The convention concluded its labors on Friday with the nomination of the party standard bearers of four years ago—Eugene W. Chafin, of Arizona, for president, and Aaron S. Watkins, of Ohio, for vice-president. In each case the nomination was made by acclamation after a single ballot had indicated the preference of the delegates.

Four candidates for president were placed in nomination against Mr. Chafin. They were F. W. Emerson, of California; Finley C. Hendrickson, of Maryland; S. Watkins, of Ohio, and Andrew Jackson Houston, of Texas. Each in turn withdrew his name after the first ballot, Mr. Houston creating enthusiasm by the statement that he would rather receive the lowest vote in the Prohibition convention than the highest in either the Democratic or Republican conventions.

The leading candidates against Mr. Watkins for vice-president were Mr. Emerson, of California, and George E. Stockwell, of New York. Both of the party candidates were called to the platform and made brief speeches. Mr. Chafin said he regarded the nomination as the greatest political honor bestowed upon any man this year. He thanked the convention for his nomination and promised not to stand for a "third term."

Previous to and for a short while after the nomination of the candidates efforts were made to induce the convention to change the name of the party. Suggestions that the party had outgrown its name, which have been discussed informally since the gathering here of the delegates, brought a definite proposal from the Rev. S. H. Taft, of California, that the convention adopt the name "Conservation party."

There was so much opposition to the suggestions that they all went by default.

Eugene W. Chafin

Prohibition Candidate for President, 1912

Eugene W. Chafin has long been a prominent temperance advocate, and was the standard bearer of his party in 1908. Though never a public

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office-holder, he has frequently been a candidate for office on the Prohibition ticket, notably for congressman from Wisconsin in 1882 and from Chicago in 1902; for attorney-general of Wisconsin in 1886, 1900 and 1904, and for governor of the same state in 1898. Mr. Chafin was born in East Troy, Wis., sixty years ago, and after being admitted to the bar in 1875, practiced law there until 1900, when he removed to Chicago, where he was superintendent until 1904, since which time he has resided at Tucson, Ariz. Besides being active as a speaker and organizer in temperance and prohibition movements he held the office of grand chief templar of the Wisconsin Good Templars from 1886 to 1890; he also occupied the same relation to the Illinois Good Templars in 1904 and 1905.

As an author Mr. Chafin has written "Lincoln, the Man of Sorrow" and "Washington as a Statesman."

Aaron Sherman Watkins

Prohibition Candidate for Vice-President, 1912

Aaron S. Watkins, though only forty-nine years old, has had a varied career as teacher, minister and college professor and president, and is also widely known as a lecturer. Born at Rushsylvania, O., and graduating from the Ohio Northern University at Ada, O., in 1886, he was admitted to the bar in 1889 after four years study in a law office. Instead, however, of taking up the practice of his profession, he taught in the public schools from 1880 to 1883 and from 1900 to 1903. In the latter year he entered the Methodist Episcopal ministry, in which he was ordained in 1885, and filled pastorates at Continental, Ottawa, Edgerton, Delta and North Baltimore, O., until 1905, when he became professor of literature and philosophy at the Ohio Northern University, which chair he filled for four years. In 1907 he was made vice-president of the same university, and later became president of Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky. Since 1910 he has occupied the lecture platform. He was the Prohibition candidate for governor of Ohio in 1905 and 1908, and for vice-president of the nation in the latter year. He resides at Ada, Ohio.

*The 32 pages of illustrations contained in this book are not included in the paging. Adding these 32 pages to the 320 pages of text makes a total of 352 pages.

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